

Keep. Only copy in Rep. Library

THE
HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CITY of YORK,

From its ORIGIN to the PRESENT TIMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH
TWENTY-TWO COPPER-PLATES.

VOLUME I.

C O N T A I N I N G,

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. YORK, its different Names and Etymologies, with the obscure History of it till the Coming of the Romans into Britain. | Romans leaving the Island to the Norman Conquest. |
| II. The State of it under the Roman Government in Britain. | IV. Historical Annals to the uniting of the two Houses of York and Lancaster. |
| III. The State of it from the | V. Continuation of the Historical Annals, from the Union of the two Houses of York and Lancaster, to the present Times. |

Y O R K :

Printed by A. WARD; and sold by W. TESSEYMAN,
J. TODD, H. SOTHERAN, T. WILSON, N. FROBISHER,
and R. SPENCE, Booksellers.

M.DCC.LXXXV.



To the R E A D E R.

THE high Antiquity of the City of YORK, and the respectable Part which it has held in the Annals of *England*, induces the Editor of the following Sheets to flatter himself that they will prove an agreeable Entertainment to the Generality of their Readers, and particularly to those who wish to become conversant in the History of this Kingdom.

It may not here be improper to observe, that the late learned F. DRAKE, F. R. S. and A. S. was the only Person who successfully attempted to hand down to Posterity the HISTORY of YORK, published by him in the Year 1736.

That Work being now out of Print, and no Copies to be met with, except at the Decease of some particular Gentlemen, and for which an exorbitant Price must be given, may prove an Apology for this Attempt on a smaller Scale, in which every interesting Matter is carefully preserved, and the Occurrences since that Period impartially laid down, and humbly submitted to the Public by the

EDITOR.

To the R. E. A. D. E. R.

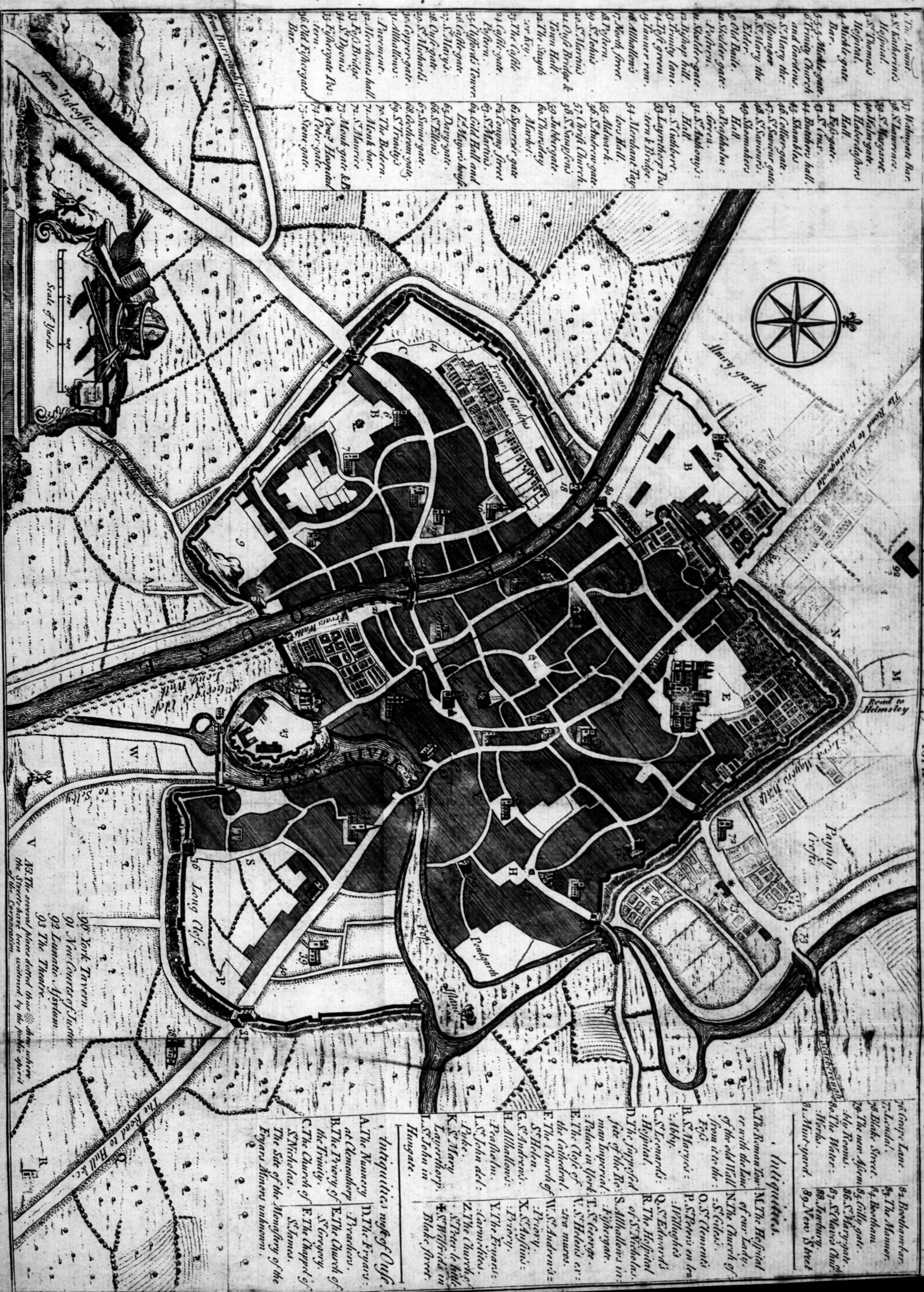
THE High Assembly of the City of
York, and the Corporation of the
City of London, have been informed
that the Rev. Mr. [Name] has been
appointed to the Office of [Name]
and that he will prove an efficient
Minister, and particularly to those who wish
to become converts in the History of the
Nation.

It was not here to be intended to observe
that the Rev. Mr. [Name] was the only
Minister who had been appointed to
the Office of [Name] in the Year 1730.

The Work being now one of [Name] and
no longer to be used with, except as the
Doctrine of some particular Gentlemen, and
for which an extraordinary price will be paid,
may prove an Axiom for the [Name] in
a [Name] State, in which every individual
Minister is carefully protected, and the
Conscience since that time has been
down, and firmly established to the [Name]
by the [Name]

EDITOR.

A Plan of the City of York.



- 76 Temple Lane.
- 77 Leaden.
- 78 Blake Street.
- 79 The new Alms-house.
- 80 The Water.
- 81 The Water.
- 82 The Water.
- 83 The Water.
- 84 The Water.
- 85 The Water.
- 86 The Water.
- 87 The Water.
- 88 The Water.
- 89 The Water.

Antiquities.

- A The Roman Wall.
- B The Roman Wall.
- C The Roman Wall.
- D The Roman Wall.
- E The Roman Wall.
- F The Roman Wall.
- G The Roman Wall.
- H The Roman Wall.
- I The Roman Wall.
- J The Roman Wall.
- K The Roman Wall.
- L The Roman Wall.
- M The Roman Wall.
- N The Roman Wall.
- O The Roman Wall.
- P The Roman Wall.
- Q The Roman Wall.
- R The Roman Wall.
- S The Roman Wall.
- T The Roman Wall.
- U The Roman Wall.
- V The Roman Wall.
- W The Roman Wall.
- X The Roman Wall.
- Y The Roman Wall.
- Z The Roman Wall.

Antiquities near the City.

- A The Roman Wall.
- B The Roman Wall.
- C The Roman Wall.
- D The Roman Wall.
- E The Roman Wall.
- F The Roman Wall.
- G The Roman Wall.
- H The Roman Wall.
- I The Roman Wall.
- J The Roman Wall.
- K The Roman Wall.
- L The Roman Wall.
- M The Roman Wall.
- N The Roman Wall.
- O The Roman Wall.
- P The Roman Wall.
- Q The Roman Wall.
- R The Roman Wall.
- S The Roman Wall.
- T The Roman Wall.
- U The Roman Wall.
- V The Roman Wall.
- W The Roman Wall.
- X The Roman Wall.
- Y The Roman Wall.
- Z The Roman Wall.

AS The several places dotted thus show where the Streets have been widened by the public spirit of the Corporation.

Priest governed in *Judea*; and when *Sylvius Aeneas*, the Son of *Aeneas*, and Uncle to *Brutus* the third King of the *Latins*, ruled in *Italy*; that is about the Year, from the World's Creation, 2860; or 1106 Years before the Birth of *Christ*.

Ebraucus, the Son of *Mempricius*, the third King from *Brute*, built a City North of *Humber*, which, from his own Name, he called *Kaer-Ebrauc*; that is, the City of *Ebraucus*; about the Time that *David* reigned in *Judea*, *Sylvius Latinus* in *Italy*, and that *Gad*, *Nathan*, and *Asaph* prophesied in *Israel*, near A. M. 2983, or ante *Christum* 983.

In the *British* Appellation *Kaer-Ebrauc*, we are to find out the *Roman* EBORACVM. Some learned Men, says *Sir Thomas Widdrington**, to denote it short, wrote *E*, the second *Latin* Vowel, with an Apostrophe; the *Italians*, by Inadvertency, have changed it into *O*, the fourth, and for *Eboracum* write *Eboracum*, as for *Edouardus*, they now write *Edwardus*; for which Reason *Civitas Ebrauci* is now called *Civitas Eborauci*; and the learned *John Cajus* says†, That the Name is changed from *Eboracum* to *Eborum*.

Sir Thomas adds, That he cannot conceal what he had from a Noble Person, "That it appears from *Cæsar* and *Tacitus*, that several Colonies of the *Gauls* seated themselves, as in other Countries, so in *Spain*; from whence again being disturbed by the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and other Nations, they were forced to seek new Habitations, and might either first seize on the Western Part of Middle *England*; or, from *Ireland*, that Place not sufficing them, empty themselves into this Island, where they might give the Name of *Eboracum* to *York*, from *Ebora* a Town in *Portugal*, or *Ebura* in *Andalusia*; the former of which is to this Day called *Evora*; to which if you add *c*, being in the antient *Gaulogists* a Diminutive, you have *Eborac*, the last Syllable (*um*) being a *Latin* Termination." This is also *Buchanan's* Opinion.

* *Sir Thomas Widdrington* (Author of a Manuscript History, intitled, *Analeſta Eboracenſia*) was Recorder of *York*, and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1656.

† *J. Cajus in Ann. Acad. Cant.*



"If you will have it more immediately derived from Gaul, or Gallia Belgica, you may deduce it from the Eburones, a People that inhabited about Liege in the Time of *Cæsar*; who, possibly, might be transplanted hither, and give it the Name of *Eburac*, or *Little York*. There are also the *Eburaci* or *Ebroici*, (for it is read both Ways) in *Gallia Celtica*, whose chief City *Eboracum* favours the Supposition, that the Natives were transplanted hither."

Verstegan, in his Book of the Restitution of decayed Intelligence, says, "That the ancient Britons called the City of *York* *Caer-Efroc*, our Ancestors *Eborwic*, *Everwic*, and *Eberwic*; which, by vulgar Abbreviation, might come to *Boric* or *Voric*, and so lastly to *York*. *Eber*, or *Ever*, is, in the old Saxon, Wild Boar, (tho' this latter Name be *Englisb* also) *wic* is a Refuge or Retreat, and, it may be, it had of our Ancestors that Appellation, as being the Refuge or Retreat from the wild Boars, which heretofore might have been in the Forest of *Galtres* *, which is within a Mile of that City †; and the more like it is, for that there yet remains a Toll called *Guyde Lawe*, which is paid for Cattle at *Bowdam Bar*, a Gate of the City so called, and was first paid for the Payment of Guides which conducted them, belike to save them from this cruel Beast, through the said Forest."

Our late *Leeds* Antiquary ‡ agrees with *Verstegan* in this Opinion, and says, "That the present Name of *York* may be easily enough deduced from the Saxon *Eoferwic*; the Initials of which were no Doubt, in those Ages, pronounced as *Yo*. This, says he, is yet continued in some Parts of the North, where *Eode* is pronounced *Yode*; and I myself, have been told upon the Road, that *sike a yan Yode that Way*. The *f*, continues he, was omitted for Softness in Pronunciation, as also *w*; and I have had of the Monies of King *Edward* the Con-

A 2

fessor,

* Boars at this Day, says Lawyer *Hildyard*, are called in *Yorkshire*, *Goates*. *Hild. Ant. York* 1664.

† *Nemus Caleterinum, quod Anglice Galtres dicitur, attingit pene Eborum, & inde versus Zephyrum extenditur juxta Aldburgh, in longum spatium xx miliarium, cujus nemoris plurima pars hodie succissa arbusculis ad culturum redigitur. Policbron. R. Higdeni.*

‡ *Thoresby's Ducat. Leod. in Appendice.*

4 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

feſſor, whereon for *Eoſer* is writ *Eor* (*Yor*), to which add the laſt Letter *c* (now converted into *k*) and you have the modern name *Yorc*, or *York*.”

Others believe that the Name of this City is derived ſolely from the River *Eure* it ſtands upon : And then the Signification of the Word amounts to no more than a Town or City ſtanding or placed upon *Eure*. Thus the *Eberanci*, a People of *France*, ſat down by the River *Eure*, near *Eureux* in *Normandy*, and from thence contracted their Name. This is the Opinion of that great Antiquary *Camden* ; and if the Point be cleared, that the River *Ouſe* was formerly called *Eure* as low as *York*, we need look no further for our Etymology.

John Leland, that great Magazine of Antiquity, to whoſe Collections the ableſt *English* Antiquaries have been ſo particularly obliged, eſteems the River *Ouſe* to be one of the Rivers of *Iſis* *. “ The River *Ouſe*, ſays he, ariſes in the fartheſt Part of the Province of *Richmond*, at a Place called *Cotterbill*, or *Cotterend* ; it paſſes through divers Places, and comes at laſt to *Boroughbridge*, and there is called *Iſurium*, the Name of *Iſis* being prepoſed to *Eure*. A Little after it has paſt *Boroughbridge*, the People affecting Brevity, wholly leaving out *Eure*, have taken up the firſt Part of the Name, and call it *Iſis*, vulgarly *Ouſe*. And if a Man ſhall fully conſider the Name *Yurewic*, which, by Contraction, is *York*, he will underſtand that it hath taken the Name from *Iſurewic*, retaining the firſt Letter, and caſting away the ſecond, and changing the third into *o*, as *Iorewic* or *Yorewic*, which is ſoon thrown into *York*.”

This great Antiquary †, in another Part of his Works, is ſtill more explicit in this Affair, which we ſhall beg Leave to give the Reader in his own Words, as follows: *Sunt qui ſuſpiciuntur, nec temere, illud flumen, quod urbem alluit Iſurium ‡, olim dictum fuiſſe ab Iſide & Uro ſuperius confluentibus. Iſe fluvius a Saxonibus Ouſe dicitur, argumento ſunt Ouſeford, id eſt, Iſidis vadum ; Ouſeburn, id eſt, Iſidis aqua. Si hæc conjectura valet, ut certè plurimum valere videtur, ISVROVICVM aptum, elegans, rotundum etiam urbi nomen erat.*

The

* J. Leland in *Com. Cant.*

† J. Leland in *Geneth.* Ed. primi.

‡ Now called *Aldborough*.

The justly celebrated Mr. Camden says, The Name of the British King *Ebrauc* was coined out of *Eboracum* *. And he lays it down as an incontestable Truth, that the *Eure* at *Boroughbridge* has gained the Name of *Ouse* from a little petty Rivulet, which runs into it at *Ouseburn*, a Village so called, to which it hath given the Name, and robbed the River *Eure* of it †.

It is not impossible that this may be the true Definition of *York*, and its Latin † *EBVRACVM* or *EBORACVM*, as it is spelt both Ways in the Itinerary ascribed to the Emperor *Antoninus*: For notwithstanding the Name has nothing in it derivative from either *Latin* or *Greek*, nor indeed can the Name of any *Roman* Station in *Britain* be well construed that Way; yet whether *EBVRACVM*, and the Saxon § *Eure-wic*, *Yure-wic*, &c. are not more sensibly derived from a Station or Town on the River *Eure* or *Yure*, than from *Kaer-Ebrauc*, we leave to the Reader's Judgment.

Our late Antiquary Mr. *Baxter* || conjectures, that the Roman *EBVRACVM* is derived from the British *Eur*, vel *Ebr*, which answers to the Greek *Ουρον*; thence, he says, the Adjective is formed *Euraic*, *aquosum*, watery; and the British Name to this City *Caer-Eurauc*, *aquosa Civitas*, a watery City. The neighbouring River, he adds, is called *Eura*, or *Ebura*; of which very Name there is another River in *France*, as well as a People called *Eburones*, &c. The watery Situation, this Author speaks of, will fit us well enough; but we are not so learned in the British Language, as either to confirm or contradict his Assertion. Indeed, after all, we are of Opinion with *Buchanan* in this, that the Original of Words depends not on the Notions of the wiser Sort, but on the Pleasure of the Vulgar, who for the most Part are rude and unpolished; and therefore anxiously to inquire after their Judgments, is a Piece of needless Curiosity; and if you should find out what they mean, it would not be worth your Labour **.

A 3

Thus

* Camden's Remains. † Britannia. ‡ Iter ab Eboraco Londinium in Blandiniano [ed] Iter ab Uburaco: & in Neopolitano, ab Eburaco. Longoliani Blandinianam lectionem præferunt, & Eburaco corrigunt. Hiron. Surit. not. in Anton. Itin. ed. Gale.

§ Ea-ure-wic. i. e. castrum ad, vel secus aquam Ure. Somner's Saxon Dictionary.

|| Baxter's Glossarium Antiquitat. Brit.

vide Eboracum.

** Buchan. Hist. Scotiæ.

6 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

Thus having given the Opinions of the Learned upon this intricate Affair, it must be left to every one to frame out of them his own Conjecture. We must next do that Justice to *York*, which *Stow* and his Editor *Stripe* have not scrupled to do for *London*; which is, to transcribe out of our aforecited *British* Historian what Memorables he has noted relating to us, and do that Honour to the City, which he and his numberless Followers have attested the Verity of; but in this we shall not pretend to adjust the different Chronologies.

Geofry of Monmouth tells us that, some Time after the Death of *Ebraucus*, two Brothers, *Belinus* and *Brennus*, jointly ruled in *Britain*. But falling at Variance, **Brennus* was driven out of the Kingdom, and there-upon sought Aid of the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*. The former went with him in Person, and the latter assisted him with Troops; and landing in *Northumberland*, he sent his Brother Word that if he did not comply with his Demands, he would destroy him and the whole Island from Sea to Sea. *Belinus* upon this marches against him, with the Flower of the Kingdom in his Army, and found his Brother drawn up in a Wood, called *Galatar* †, ready to receive him. The Fight was bloody and long, because, says our Author, the bravest Men were engaged on both Sides; and so great was the Slaughter, that the Wounded fell on Heaps, like standing Corn cut down by the Reapers. At last the *Britons* prevailed, and *Brennus* was forced back to his Ships with the Loss of 20,000 Men.

In this Battle *Guthbadus*, King of *Denmark*, is said to be taken Prisoner; and the Victor *Belinus* called a Council at † *York* to know how to dispose of him. All the Nobles of the Kingdom being assembled at the afore-said City, it was agreed that the King should be set at Liberty, on Condition to hold his Crown of the King of *Britain*; and likewise to pay him an § annual Tribute. Oaths and Hostages being taken on this Occasion, the

Danish

* This *Brennus*, says our Author, was the same Person who led the Army of the confederate *Gauls*, and took and burnt *Rome* in the Dictatorship of *Camillus*.

† *Galtres* Forest, near *York*.

‡ *Intra Eboracum. Gal. Mon.* It is remarkable that *Geofry* never calls *York* *Kaer-Ebrauc*, but once throughout his whole Work.

§ *Fabian* and *Hollingshead* have thought fit to assign the Sum of 3000 *l.* for this Tribute; but we do not find the Original mentions it.

Danish Monarch was released from Prison, and returned into his own Country.

The next we find in *Monmouth's* History, wherein our Subject is any Way concerned, is a *British* Prince called *Archigallus* ||, or *Artogal*, of whom it is related, that being, for some indirect Practices, dispossessed of his Crown and Dignity by his Nobles, who advanced his Brother *Elidurus* in his Stead, he wandered about as a Fugitive and Outlaw; and having travelled over several Kingdoms in Hopes to procure Aid to recover his lost Dominions, finding none, and being no longer able to bear the Poverty to which he was reduced, returned back to *Britain* with only ten Men in his Company, with a Design to repair to those who were formerly his Friends. *Elidurus*, who had been five Years in Possession of the Kingdom, as he happened to be hunting one Day in the Wood called *Calaterium*, in the wildest Part of this vast Forest, got Sight of his unhappy Brother, and forgetting all Injuries ran to him and affectionately embraced him. As he had long secretly lamented his Brother's Misfortunes, he took this Opportunity to endeavour to remedy them. He conveyed him privately to the City *Aclud*, where he hid him in his Bed-Chamber. He there feigned himself sick, and sent Messengers over the whole Kingdom, to signify to all his prime Nobility that they should come to visit him. Accordingly, when they were all met together at the City where he lay, he gave Orders that they should come into his Chamber softly and without Noise; his Pretence for this was, that, should they all croud in together, their Talk would be a Disturbance to his Head. The Nobles, in Obedience to his Commands, and without the least Suspicion of any Design, entered his House one after another. But *Elidurus* had given Charge to his Servants, who were set ready for the Purpose, to take each of them as they entered, and cut off their Heads, unless they would again submit themselves to *Artogal* his Brother. Thus did he with every one of them apart, and compelled them, through Fear, to be reconciled to *Artogal*.

|| *Fabian* and *Stow*, in their Chronicles, mention *Rivallus*, *Gurgustius* his Son, *Iago*, or *Logo*, and *Kimmacus*, all Kings of *Britain*, and all before *Artogal*, to be buried at *Kaerbrauc*. But since *Geofrey* is silent, this must be an Improvement on his Scheme.

8 The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES

Artogal. The Agreement being ratified, *Elidurus* conducted his Brother to *York*, where he took the Crown off his own Head and set it on his Brother's; which rare Example produced as wonderful an Effect; for *Artogal*, after his Restoration, we are told, proved a most excellent Governor, and, after a mild Reign of ten Years, he died, was buried at *York*, and *Elidurus* again succeeded him.

In the following Reigns of more than thirty Successors to this last Prince, the *British* History is silent to any Thing but their Names, and some of their Characters, till the Landing of *Cæsar* in *Britain*; from which *Æra* we tread more certain Steps, and, by the Assistance of the best historical Guides the World has produced, it is hoped we may be able to set our Subject in a clearer Light. For those who frown at *Monmouth's* Story and call it all Dream and Fiction, must, however, pay some Regard to the Testimony of *Tacitus*, *Dion*, and *Herodian*.

It will not be amiss, at the Conclusion of this Head, to present the Reader, at one View, with a List of the different Names this City has had, with the different Authorities for them, viz.

EBORACVM.	<i>Multis testibus,</i>
Εβοραχον.	{ <i>Ptolemeus in opere Geograph.</i>
Εβοραχον.	{ <i>Usher de primord.</i>
Βεργαχον.	<i>Ptol. in canon. astronomicis.</i>
Βεργαχον.	{ <i>Ptol. in magna syntaxi lib. 2.</i>
	{ <i>Usher de prim.</i>
CIVITAS BRIGANTIVM.	{ <i>Tacitus in vita Agricola.</i>
VEVRACVM & EBVRACVM.	
	<i>In Itin. Antonini.</i>
KAER-EBRAVC.	{ <i>Gal. Mon. Nennius, in cat. urbium Brit. ed. Gale. Hen. Hunt. Alph. Bever. Harison, &c.</i>
CAIR-BRAUC.	
CAIR-EFFROC.	{ <i>By the Britons at this Day, Usher de prim. Verstegan. Humph. Llhuud. frag Brit. Descriptio.</i>

EVOR-

EVOR-WIC.	}	Saxonice.
EVER-WIC.		
EOPER-WIC.		
EOPOR-WIC.		
EFER-WIC.	}	{ Somner. & Chron. Saxon. <i>ad</i> ann. 685, 763, 780, &c.
EOPOR-WIC-CEA-		
STER.		
CEASTER <i>simplice.</i>		
VRDWIC.	}	Leland.
ISVROVICVM.		Leland.
VROVICVM.		Ortelius. Harrison.
EBORACA.		Girald. Cambrensis.
ALTERA ROMA.	}	Harrison's <i>Description of Britain.</i>
VICTORIA.		
SEXTA.	}	Selden's <i>Titles of Honour.</i>
CIVITAS EBORVM		Lib. Domesday.
& EVRVIC.		
EVORWIC.		}
EVERWYKE.		
EOPORWIIC.		
YEVORWIIC.		
VREWHIC.	}	
YUREWIIC.		
<i>Hodie YORKE, vel YORK.</i>		

The State of the City under the Roman Govern- ment in Britain.

AS the Original of this ancient City is so much ob-
scured that nothing but conjectural Hints can be
given of it, so likewise the Affairs of the whole Island
want the same Illustration; and we are no more in the
Dark than our Neighbours, till the Times that the Ro-
mans thought fit to pay us their first Visit. Their
Descent was on the *Kentish* Shore, and as *Cæsar* never
penetrated so far North as *York*, it cannot be expected
that any Account of our City can be found in his Com-
mentaries.

Geofry of *Monmouth* writes, that *Cassibelaun*, King of
the *Trinobantes*, as *Cæsar* himself styles him, General
of the united Forces of the Island, after making a Peace
with the Romans, retired to *York*, died and was buried
there *.

Alcuin,

* *In urbe Eboraco sepultus.* Gal. Mon.

10 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

Alcuin, a Native of this City, and who lived near a thousand Years ago, is of Opinion, that this City derives its Original from the *Romans* themselves; he says,

*Hanc Romana manus muris, & turribus altam
Fundavit primo——
Ut fieret ducibus secura potentia regni;
Et decus imperii, terrorque hostilibus armis.*

This City, first, by *Roman* Hand was form'd,
With lofty Towers and high-built Walls adorn'd,
To give their Leaders a secure Repose,
Honour to th' Empire, Terror to their Foes.

The Authority of an Historian of so antient a Date is respectable, and, without Doubt, the traditional Account of the Origin of this City, in his Time, was such as he has related. There is some Reason to believe that this City was founded by *Agricola*, whose Conquests in the Island stretched beyond *York*; and that he built here a Fortress, to guard the Frontiers after his Return. What seems to add to the Probability of this, is, that when the Emperor *Hadrian* came into *Britain*, to inspect the Guards and Garrisons of the Island, and to attempt the Conquest of *Caledonia*, he was dissuaded from the Attempt by some old Soldiers of *Agricola's* that he met with at *York*. There is no Room to doubt that *Hadrian*, in this Expedition, brought with him into *Britain* the sixth Legion, styled *Legio Sexta Victrix*. At his Departure this Legion was stationed at *York*; not only to keep the native *Britons* in Subjection, but also to be in Readiness, with the other Auxiliaries, to oppose the *Caledonians*, in Case they should attempt to overthrow the Rampart which he had raised, to secure this Country from their Invasions*. We can trace this Legion in this particular Station for the Space of 300 Years and upwards.

About the Year of Christ 150, this City was one of the greatest, if not the most considerable Station in the Province. By the Itinerary ascribed to *Antoninus*, EBO-

RACVM

* *Britanniam petiit, in qua multa correxit, murumque per octaginta millia passuum primus duxit qui Barbaros Romanosque divideret, Vit. Hadriani inter script. aug.*

RACVM, or EBVRACVM, occurs throughout the Northern Journeys, and frequently with the Addition of *Legio vi. Viatrix* *. Which Addition, so particular to our City, shews it to have been of high Authority in the Province at this Time.

In the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, a *British* King, named *Lucius*, (the last of the Line of *Brute* †) is said to have embraced *Christianity*; and as his Father *Coilus* lived, died, and was buried at *York* ‡, *Lucius* may probably have succeeded him, and reigned here under the Protection of the *Romans*.

In the Reign of *Commodus* the *Caledonians* took up Arms, and cut in Pieces the *Roman* Army, commanded by an unexperienced General, and ravaged the Country in a terrible Manner as far as *York* §. The whole Province had now been over-run, had not the Emperor immediately sent over *Marcellus Ulpus*, who in a small Time repelled those Invaders, and thereby put an End to this dangerous War. At his Return to *York*, his first Care was to restore the antient Discipline in the *Roman* Army, for he had observed that these Commotions and Inroads of the *Caledonians* were chiefly owing to an entire Neglect of it. This Severity was taken so ill by the Army, having been long used to an unbridled Licence, that though *Marcellus* got safe to *Rome*, his Successor *Pertinax*, following his Steps with the same Rigour, had like to have lost his Life in a Mutiny of the ninth Legion. In all Probability this Mutiny was at *York*; for that the ninth Legion was stationed there, as well as the sixth, will hereafter appear. But

We come now to an History of more than bare Probabilities and Surmises in the Life of that illustrious Emperor *Severus*. This great Man, in the 15th Year of his Reign, undertook an Expedition into *Britain*, tho' he was at that Time somewhat aged, and clogged with Infirmities. The banished *Britons* had been so bold ||, say their Historians, as to advance so far in their Conquests as to besiege *York*, under *Fulgenius*, or *Sulgenius*, a *Scythian* General; whom they had drawn over to their Aid, in order to drive the *Romans* from all their

Con-

* *Itin. Antonini.*

† *Languett's Chronicle.*

‡ *Geofry Mon.*

§ See *Rapin's Hist. of England.* *Dion. Cass.*

|| *Geof. Mon. Joban. Fordun. Hist. Scotiæ inter script. v. ed. Gale.*

Conquests in the Island. Suppose this so far true, or not, it is certain, by *Roman Authority*, that *Virius Lupus*, then *Proprætor* in *Britain*, was hard put to it to defend himself; for *Herodian* tells us, that he wrote to the Emperor, “informing him of the Insurrections and Inroads of the Barbarians, and the Havock they made far and near, and begging either a greater Force, or that the Emperor would come over in Person.” This last was granted; *Severus*, attended with his two Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, his whole Court, and a numerous Army, arrived in *Britain* in or about the Year 208 †.

The Invaders ‡, being apprised of this great Armament against them, thought fit to retire North of *Hadrian’s Wall*, where they feared no Enemy, and there watch another Opportunity; but the Emperor, fully determined to destroy this Nest of Hornets, which had given his Predecessors so much Trouble, no sooner found that they were retired to their Fastnesses, than he prepared to follow them. When every Thing was got ready for the Expedition, he marched from *York* with his Son *Caracalla*, but left *Geta* in that Station to administer Justice ’till his Return. With this young Prince he joined in Commission *Æmilius Paulus Papianus*, that Oracle of the Law, as he is justly styled, as an Aid and Assistant to him, in order to direct his Steps, and fortify his youthful Levity. *Severus* was upwards of 62 Years of Age when he undertook this Expedition, very infirm, and crippled with the Gout §, insomuch that he was carried against the *Caledonians* in an Horse-Litter; but being a Man of invincible Spirit he despised the Danger, and bravely overcame it. He penetrated to the Extremity of the Island, subduing those fierce and barbarous Nations, hitherto unconquered. But knowing that he could not keep them in Subjection, without a strong Army upon the Spot, he took Hostages of them, and chose rather to make a Wall, of above 80 Miles in Length, and of great Strength, near the Place where his Predecessor *Hadrian* had thrown up a Rampart of Earth. *Severus* is said, by *Dion*, to have lost 50,000 Men in this Expedition, not slain by the Enemy, but starved,

† *Mediobarbus* upon *Occo*. p. 279. *Musgrave’s Synchron. Dom. Sev.* p. 126. ‡ *Dion. Cassius. Herodian.* § *Sonex et pedibus æger. Spartian in vita Severi inter script. rei aug.*

starved, killed, and drowned, in cutting down Woods, draining of Bogs, and the like.

The Credit of *Geofry of Monmouth*, the *British* Historian, here falls to the Ground, when set in Opposition to the *Roman* Writers. He says, that *Fulgenius* being beaten by *Severus*, at his Landing, fled into *Scythia*, where he got together a mighty Army, and returned into *Britain*: That he besieged *York* whilst the Emperor was in it, and, in a Battle before the City, *Severus* was slain, and *Fulgenius* mortally wounded. *John Fordun*, the ancient Chronicler of *Scotland*, writes much the same; but *Bede*, a more ancient Historian than either of them, follows the *Roman* Account, which no Doubt is the truest.

Severus having left his Son *Caracalla* in the North, to inspect the Building of the Wall, returned to *York*, where he took upon himself, and stamped upon his Coin, the Title of *BRITANICVS MAXIMVS**, as Conqueror of the whole Island, and lived near three Years in the *Prætorian* Palace of this City. Some Years after his first coming to it, he and his Son *Caracalla* sat in the *Prætorium*, and gave Judgment, even in very common Cases, as in that of *Cæcilia*, about the Recovery of Right of Possession of Slaves or Servants. This Rescript or Law is still preserved in the Code, to the great Glory and Renown of this City, as *Burton* rightly expresses it, dated from thence, with the Names of the Consuls of that Year; nor can I forbear to publish it, adds that Author, as the gallantest Monument of Antiquity which it hath†.

ETIAM per alienum servum bona fide possessum ex re ejus qui eum possidet, vel ex operis servi acquiri dominium vel obligationem placuit. Quare si tu quoque bona fide possidisti eundem servum, et ex nummis tuis mancipia eo tempore comparuit, potes secundum juris formam uti defensionibus tuis. Mancipium autem alienum mala fide possidenti non potest acquirere, sed qui tenet non tantum ipsum sed etiam operas ejus, nec non ancillarum partus et animalium servus reddere cogitur †.

P. P. III. NON. MAIL. EBORACI FAVSTINO ET RVFO COSS.

VOL. I.

B

If

* *Mediobarb. imp. Rom. num. 279.* † *Burton's Itin. Antonini.*

† *Cod. l. 3. tit. 32. de rei vindicatione.*

If *Barton*, in a general Account which he wrote of the Island, could think it necessary to publish this whole Edict or Law, we hope we may easily be forgiven, who are obliged to be as particular as possible in the Course of these Annals. The Reader may observe, that there is nothing in the Rescript itself to our Purpose; but the Sanction and Date are of such great Moment in this Affair, that it claims a thorough Discussion.

P. P. is understood by *Ursatus* to denote *posuit præfatus**; by which it appears, that *Cæsar* enacted, and the *Præfect*, or Judge of the Court, enrolled and gave a Sanction to it. Who this *Civilian* was, has been already taken Notice of, but will require greater hereafter. The Date runs from the third of the Nones of *May*, or *May 5*, *Faustinus* and *Rufus* then *Consuls*†. Some of our Chronologers, especially *Isaacson*, make this to fall *Anno ab urbe cond. 963*, or *Anno Dom. 210*. *Sir Henry Savile*, *Anno 211*. *Severus* is said to have died *pridie Non. Februarii*, or *Feb. 4*, *An. Dom. 211*; so that, according to this Calculation, the Emperor lived in *Britain* near two or three Years. Our City claims the Honour of his Residence in it most of this Time; for we can trace him no where but either on his more northern Expedition, or at *Eboracum*.

It was at or about this Period of Time, that our City shone in full Lustre; *Britannici orbis ROMA ALTERA*, *PALATIVM Curie*, and *PRÆTORIVM Cæsaris*‡, are Titles it might justly lay Claim to. The prodigious Concourse of tributary Kings, foreign Ambassadors, &c. which almost crowded the Courts of the Sovereigns of the World, when the *Roman Empire* was at or near its Prime, must bring it to the Height of sublimary Grandeur; and this without mentioning the Emperor's own Magnificence, his numerous Retinue, the Noblemen of *Rome*, or the Officers of the Army, which must all necessarily attend him.

The Reader will excuse us if we dwell longer on this pleasing Subject than the Course of these Annals may seem to allow of; for before we bring this great Man

* *Sertorius Ursatus de notis Romanorum*.

† *Anno ab v. cond. MCCCCLXIII. i. e. A. D. CCXI. Marcus Atilius Faustinus C. Cæsonius Macer Rufinus Coss.* called so in *Sir H. Savile's Chron.* but *Faustinus* and *Rufus* in *Chron. Aur. Cassiodor.*

‡ *Alcuin. Ebor. Lelandi, Coll. 2. 61.*

to his End, we must premise whatever Remarkables we find recorded concerning him, whilst he lived in this City.

In this Emperor's Days, and before, no Doubt, the Temple of *Bellona* stood here. This Goddess of War the Heathens feigned to be the Sister or Wife of *Mars*. *Camden* says, "It was looked upon as a great Presage of the Emperor's Death, that at his Entrance into the City, and willing to do Sacrifice to the Gods, he was met and misled by an ignorant *Augur*, to the Temple of *Bellona*, &c." *Spartian*, from whom our Antiquary quotes, in accounting for the many Presages and Bodements which seemed to foretell the Death of *Severus*, hath this remarkable Passage, which we shall give in his own Words *: *Et in CIVITATEM veniens, quum rem divinam vellent facere, primum ad BELLONÆ TEMPLUM ductus est errore aruspici rustici; deinde hostiæ fuerunt applicatæ; quod cum esset aspernatus, atque ad PALATIUM se reciperet, negligentia ministrorum, nigra hostiæ usque ad limen domus PALATINÆ sequutæ sunt*; which may be rendered into English thus: At his coming into the City, being desirous to give Thanks to the Gods, he was led by an ignorant Soothsayer to the Temple of *Bellona*; presently black Sacrifices were ordered, which, when rejected, and the Emperor went on to his Palace, by the Negligence of his Attendants these dark Offerings followed him even to the Door of the Imperial Palace.

That the Temple of *Bellona* stood here is also evident from the foregoing Passage; a Temple built no where but in *Rome* itself, or in the principal Cities of the Empire: For here it served, as in the great City, to denounce War from a Pillar before it. It is evident from *Vitruvius*, and other good Authorities, that this Temple was erected out of one of the Gates at *Rome*; and we must suppose that it had the same Situation at *York*.

By considering the last Quotation from *Spartian*, with one antecedent from the same Author, it will appear that the Entrance into the City, there mentioned, was after *Severus's* Northern Expedition, consequently that he entered the City at our *Bootham-Bar*. This old Gate, though it does not at present exhibit so certain a Proof of Roman Architecture as *Micklegate-Bar*, another Gate

* *Ælius Spartianus in Severo, inter Scriptores hist. Aug.*

of the City, yet the many massy Stones, of the Gritt Kind, with which it is built up, sufficiently shews its Antiquity. Besides, the *Roman* Tower near it, and the *Roman* Burial-Place without it, are evident Proofs that this Part of the Town was very considerable in those Days.

Without this Gate then must our Temple have anciently stood; but to fix upon a particular Place is impossible at this Day. *Donatus* has given us a Sketch of a Draught how he supposed this Temple was situated at *Rome*. By comparing this Plan, to which he has put a Compass, it will appear to stand North-West from the Gate aforementioned; and if any one will consider the Plan of our City at the same Time, the Temple of *Bellona*, with us, he will find must have been near where the Abbey of *St. Mary*, or the *Mannor*, now stands. The Gate, the City Walls, and the River, have a very near Similitude to one another. Lastly, Where could a Temple, dedicated to the Goddess of War, more properly stand, than facing Northward, against the boldest, most dangerous, and, at length, the only Enemies they had in this Island?

We shall leave this Temple, with a Remark, that this unlucky Omen of *Spartian* has been, however, fortunate to us, in having given Occasion for that Historian to mention *Bellona's* Temple as once standing in *Eboracum*. And it is also an undeniable Argument that there were several more Temples, or Places of Heathen Worship, erected there in those Days.

The PALATIVM, or DOMVS PALATINA, of the *Roman* Emperors, here spoken of, deserves also a particular Regard. The Imperial Palace at *Rome* being seated on the *Mons Palatinus*, that, and all their Royal Houses in the Empire, took Name from thence*. The Palace at *York* has here two expressive Names to denote its Grandeur; and we may reasonably suppose that it was re-edified, or rather first built, for this Emperor's Reception. That it must have been very magnificent, ap-

pears

* *Imperatoris aedes Palatium nominatur, non quod ita aliquando decretum sit, sed quod in Palatino Augustus Cæsar habitabat; ibique prætorium ejus erat, ac domus ejus ab eo monte, propterea quod ibi Romulus habitabat, multum splendoris accepit. - Ideoque etiam si alibi imperator domicilium suum habuit, tamen id quoque palatii nomen obtinet. Dion. Cass. lib. 53.*

appears from the Words immediately following *limen domus Palatinae*, &c. in the preceding Quotation, which are *sunt per plurimas civitates opera ejus insignia*. There are several of his grand Buildings in many other Cities of the Empire.

The *Officia Palatina*, or Royal Courts and Apartments, which were included within the Palace, were very extensive and large; among which was the *PRÆTORIUM**, or Judgment Hall, as the Word is translated in our *English* Bibles. The Baths must also have had a great Share in the Building. The Ground which this Imperial Palace may be supposed to have stood on in our City, extends, as we take it, from *Christ-Church*, through all the Houses and Gardens on the East Side of *Gotfram-gate*, *St. Andrew-gate*, and the *Bedern* to *Aldwark*; which last Name still retains some Memorial of it. *Christ-Church* is called, in all ancient Charters, *Ecclesia sancte trinitatis in CVRIA REGIS*, Saxonice, *Coring-garth*, or *King's Yard*. *Constantine the Great*, as we shall find hereafter, is said to have been born in *BEDERNA Civitatis EBORACI*; and *Constantius*, his Father, to be laid in the now-demolished Church of *St. Helen* on the Wall in *Aldwark*. *Guthram*, or *Gotfram*, was the Name of a *Danish* King, or General, who was † Governor here after their Conquests; and probably gave his Name to the Street contiguous to the Regal Palace. That the Saxons and Danes made Use of the *Roman* Buildings for their chief Habitations in other Places as well as this, will hereafter appear.

But to return to our Annals.

Severus was now drawing near his End, for his former robust Constitution was quite broken with Diseases, and his firm Mind at length overpowered by the Cares of Empire. The dissolute Disposition he observed in his eldest Son, was likewise a great Grief to him. This young Prince discovered an inhuman Nature very early; which, joined with his Ambition to be sole Ruler, made him more than once attempt the Life of his Father. It was in this City, however, that the great and warlike *Severus* met his Fate with an Intre-

B 3 *pidity*

* For the Form, Extent, &c. of the *Roman PRÆTORIUM*, see *Justus Lipsius in antiquitat. Roman. descriptione*.

† See the Annals, *An. 899*.

pidity that became so great a Soldier, after having resided here for some Years, and here celebrated a Triumph for one of the greatest Conquests the *Romans* ever gained, which, with the building of the Wall, *Spartian* expressly calls the greatest Glories of his Reign. Old Age and chronical Distempers did not advance upon him so fast, but that, after he had settled *Britain*, he might have ended his Days in *Rome*, had he chose it; but this seems to have been his favourite Place; and his chusing to die here, when he had all the Cities of the Empire to go to, if he pleased, will be a lasting Honour to EBO-RACVM.

A little before the * Death of *Severus*, the *Caledonians* again took up Arms, and attacked the *Roman* Garrisons on the Frontiers. This put the Emperor into such a Fury that he lost all Patience, and, believing *Britain* could not be safe till the whole Race of these People were destroyed, he sent out his Legions with positive Orders to put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword. These Orders were given them at *York*, and were expressed in two *Greek* Verses, which carry this bloody Meaning,

*Let none escape you, spread the Slaughter wide;
Let not the Womb the unborn Infant hide
From Slaughter's cruel Hand.*

But scarce were they begun to be put in Execution, when the Emperor found his own Death approaching.

A truly great Man is not fully known, says the Philosopher, till you see his latter End; and here this admirable Heathen finished the Course of a glorious Life, by as exemplary a Death. *Dion* relates of him that, lying on his Death-Bed, to his latest Gasp of Breath he busied himself and Counsellors with settling the Empire on as sure a Basis as possible. His last Words of Advice to his Sons, whom he left joint Emperors, were nervous and noble: "I leave you, my *Antonines* †, a
" firm and steady Government, if you will follow my
" Steps,

* *Dion & Herodian in Severo.*

† *Antonine* was then a darling Name of the *Romans*; and for that Reason *Severus* had given it to both his Sons. But the eldest proved such a sad Wretch, that the Senate made a Law that the Name should never be made Use of for the future,

“Steps, and prove what you ought to be; but weak
 “and tottering if otherways.—Do every Thing that
 “conduces to each other’s Good.—Cherish the Soldiery,
 “and then you may despise the rest of Mankind.—A
 “disturbed, and every where distracted Republick I
 “found it, but to you I leave it firm and quiet;—even
 “to the Britons.” Then turning to his Friends he
 shewed the Philosopher in these Words, “I have been
 “all;—and yet am now no better for it.” Alluding to
 his Rise from a low Beginning, through all the Stations
 of Life. Then calling for the Urn which was to con-
 tain his Ashes, after the *Offilegium*, or burning of his
 Body, and looking steadily upon it, “Thou shalt
 “hold,” says he, “what the whole World could not
 “contain.” His last Words were, “Is there any
 “Thing else, my Friends, that I can do for you?”

As his whole Life, so did his Death, and even his
 Funeral Obsequies, altogether, contribute to render the
 Name of this great Prince immortal. The last were so-
 lemnized at a small Distance from the City, and have
 left such a Testimonial as will make the Place famous to
 all Posterity. We are told that the Body of this martial
 Emperor was brought out in a military Manner by the
 Soldiers; that it was habited in a Soldier’s Dress, and
 laid on a most magnificent Pile, erected for that Pur-
 pose, to burn him on. His Sons first put the lighted
 Torch to it, and when the Flames ascended, the Pile
 was honoured with the *Peridrome*, Decursion or riding
 round it, by the young Princes, his chief Officers, and
 Soldiers*. This Kind of Roman Funeral Ceremony is
 elegantly described by *Virgil*.

*Ter circum accensos, cincti fulgentibus armis,
 Decurrere rogos; ter mæstum funeris ignem
 Lustravere in equis*

Then thrice around the burning Piles they run,
 Clad in bright Armour. Thrice the mournful Flame
 They encompassed on Horseback.

After the Body of the Emperor was consumed in the
 Flames, his Ashes were collected, and, with sweet
 Odours, put into a Porphyrite Urn. This was car-
 ried

* *Dion Cassius, Herodian in Severa.*

ried to *Rome*, and there deposited in the Monument of the *Antonines*. He had afterwards the extraordinary Ceremony of the *Apotheosis*, or Deification, conferred upon him by the Senate and People.

But that the Memory of him, in *Britain*, might last as long as the World, his grateful Army, with infinite Labour, raised three large Hills, in the very Place where his Funeral Rites were performed; which Hills, after so many Ages being washed with Rains, and often plowed, are still very apparent, but must have been much higher than they are at present. *Suetonius* tells us, that the Soldiers in *Germany* raised an honorary Tomb to the Memory of *Drusus*, though his Body had been carried to *Rome* and deposited in the *Campus Martius**. Such Kind of *Tumuli*, or *Cumuli*, sepulchral Hills, were raised by the *Romans*, at vast Trouble and Expence, over their Men of highest Note, in order to eternize their Memories. No Sort of Monument, of which they had several, can possibly subsist longer; for nothing but an Earthquake can destroy them. *Seneca* speaks of them in this Manner, *Cætera sunt quæ per constructionem lapidum, & marmoreas moles, & terrenos tumulos in magnam eductos celsitudinem constant.*

It has been objected to us that these Hills seem to be natural ones, and indeed the Plough has contributed very much to that Appearance of them; but we have undoubted Testimony, both historical and traditional, to assure us that they have borne the Name of *Severus's Hills* for many Ages. Mr. *Camden* quotes *Radulphus Niger* that they were in his Time called the *Soveres*†. *Radulph de Diceto*, an earlier Historian than the former, following the *British* Story, writes thus, *Sed eo tandem a Pictis perempto, requiescit Eboraci, in monte qui ab eo Severus-ho vocatus est*‡. The learned Primate, in his Chronology, tells us, that the Corpse of this Emperor was laid on the Funeral Pile in a Place which, to this very

* *Suetonius in Claudio.*

† *Radulphus Niger* lived in *Henry the Third's* Reign, *An. 1250*, says *Hollingshead*; but *Nicholson* places him *An. 1217*, and *R. de Diceto* before him, *Hist. Lib.*

‡ *Rad. de Diceto, inter xv. script. ed. Gale.*

every Day, retains the Name of *Severs-Hill* §. From all which Testimonies, and the constant Traditions of the Inhabitants of *York*, we have no Room to doubt but that these Hills were raised for the Reason aforesaid.

That there are three of these Hills is likewise no Objection, and it is thought that they have been raised all at the same Time in Memory of the dead Emperor, and in Honour of the two living ones, his Sons and Successors. We need say no more to prove this Custom to have been a very common one amongst the *Romans*, as it was also used by the *Pagan Britons*, *Saxons*, and *Danes*. The *Goths*, or *Ang. Saxons*, made their Tombs very like the *Roman Tumuli*, from which Word came the *French Tombeaux*. Numbers of these sepulchral Hills, by the Country People called *Barroughs* *, are to be met with in this Island; especially upon our *Wolds*, where there are many of them of different Magnitudes, according to the Quality of the Officer entombed. The lowest was not buried without the Soldiers, under his Command, each laying a Turf upon his Grave. And the S. T. T. L. in some of their monumental Inscriptions, or *sit tibi terra levis, may this Earth lay light*, plainly alludes to this Custom. It cannot be wondered then that these *Tumuli* of ours are of such an extraordinary Bulk, when there went the Power of the whole *Roman Army* then in *Britain*, as well as the Natives, to raise them. They seem to have been raised from a flat Superficies, and the Place whence this vast Quantity of Earth was dug, is now a small Village at the Foot of the Hills, called *Holegate*. We shall take Leave of these venerable Remains of *Roman Grandeur* with giving their exact Mensuration, as to Altitude and Diameter, viz. the largest is 308 Yards in Diameter, and 44 Yards one Foot in Height; the second is 210 Yards in Diameter, and 32 Yards in Height; and the least is 100 Yards in Diameter, and 27 Yards in Height.

But it may now be asked, What certain Testimony have we that *Severus* did actually die at *York*? To prove it we shall only mention the Authority of two

Roman

§ *Corpus ejus rogo est impositum in loco qui ad hunc usque Diem Severs-Hill sive Severi collis nomen retulit. Usher's Primord. Eccl. Britan.*

* *Barroughs* comes from the A. S. *Beare* or *Beorg* tumulus, collis, &c. whence our Word *Bury* is derived. *Somner's Saxon Dict.*

Roman Writers, which will put the Matter out of Dispute. *Eutropius* gives it us in these Words:—*Decessit EBORACI (Severus) admodum senex, imperii anno xviii. mense iv. & divus appellatus est †.* And *Spartian* now expressly names the Place, *periit EBORACI, in Britannia, subactis gentibus quæ Britannix videbantur infestæ, anno imperii xviii. morbo gravissimo extinctus, jam senex ‡.* To deny this Evidence is to say abruptly, that *EBORACVM* is not *York*; which, however disputable other Stations may be in *Britain*, the learned Men of all Ages, since the Time of the *Romans*, have unanimously concurred in.

Dion Cassius, a Senator, and Consul both before and after the Reign of *Severus*, has left us a Story of the Empress *Julia*, known in the *Roman* Coins by the Name of *Julia Domna*. The Story has been translated and retailed by several modern Authors, but as it is thought the Subject of it was transacted at *York*, where the Court then was, it cannot be amiss to insert it here.

It was the Custom of the ancient *Britons* to live promiscuously, to make Use of one another's Wives, and bring up their Children in common*; which Custom, as it was contrary to *Roman* Laws, *Severus* endeavoured to restrain; for even his own Soldiers gave too much into the Practice of it. *Dion* said he made several Edicts against Adulterers, &c. by which many were brought upon their Trials and punished for it †. I can affirm upon my own Knowledge, adds our Author, having in my Consulship seen it on our Records, that above 3000 Offenders, in this Kind, have been libelled against at one Time. But, when few Persons could be met with that would perform the executive Part of the Laws with Vigour, the Emperor began to be more remiss in Prosecutions of this Nature. The Empress *Julia*, pursues our Author, rallied a *British* Lady, the Wife of *Argentocoxus*, a *Caledonian* Prince, probably a Prisoner, or an Hostage at *York*, with the Licentious-

† *Eutropii Hist. Roman. Vide notas variorum in Eutrop. & Sc. Havereampi.*

‡ *Historia August. cum notis Isaaci Casaubon & alior.*

* *Utuntur communibus uxoribus liberosque omnes alunt. Tacitus.*

† *Licet & ipso adulteriis famosa. Dio Xiphilin. Juliam famosam adulteriis. Spartian.*

ness of her Country Women, for committing such open Obscenities with their Men. The bold Briton answered her with great Vivacity, *I think, Madam, we have much the Advantage of you Roman Ladies in this Particular, and satisfy our natural Inclinations with much better Grace; for we, in open Day-Light, admit the Noble and the Brave to our Embraces, but you, in Darkness and Dungeons, make Use of your most degenerate Slaves.* A cutting Reply to one whom their own Historians do not stick to brand with the Infamy of it. *

The aforesaid Author has given us this Emperor's daily Course of Life, in the last Years of it, in this Manner: "He came, says he, early to, and constantly sat in the Judgment-Hall till Noon; after which he rode out as long as he was able. At his Return from this Exercise he bathed; then dined, either alone or with his Sons; but so luxuriously and plentifully, as constantly threw him into a sound Sleep after Dinner. When he awaked, he walked about some Time, and diverted himself with a Greek or Latin Author. In the Evening he bathed again, and after supped with his Domesticks and Familiars; for no other Guests were admitted; except at some set Times, when he would treat his whole Court at Supper very magnificently."

We shall conclude our Account of this great Roman with a Description of his Person, and Character of his Parts, &c. drawn from the same Historian as the former. "He was, says he, of a gross Habit of Body, but yet very strong and robust; except when weakened with the Gout, which he suffered much from. He had an excellent and piercing Judgment; in the Study of the liberal Arts he had been wonderfully diligent, which rendered his Speech and Counsel both eloquent and persuasive. To his Friends most grateful, and always mindful to do them Good; but to his Enemies implacable. Diligent in the Execution of Business; but when dispatched, no one ever heard him speak of it again. Greedy enough of Money; which he took all Methods to get together, except that he never put any one to Death in the attaining of it. He erected many new Palaces

* Several Laws are extant in the Code made by Papinian, contra Mechos; probably at York, though none of them are dated as the former.

laces and Temples, and repaired several old ones; two, especially, to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, he built very magnificently. And though his Expences in these and other Matters were very great, yet, at his Death, he left in Gold many Thousands behind him; and also as much Corn to the City of *Rome* as would serve it seven Years*." This is a great Character for a Heathen, and what few of our Christian Princes have attained to. The blackest Crime that any Historian can lay to his Charge, is, that he raised the fifth Persecution against the Christians.

Severus being dead, the Government devolved upon his two Sons *CARACALLA* and *GETA*; and the Court still continuing at *EBORACVM*, the Course of this History must necessarily attend it. The eldest of these Princes, *Bassianus*, was surnamed *Caracalla*, from a *Gaulish* Garment, made with a Hood or Cowl, which was originally short till he lengthened it to the Ancles of his Soldiers. He used to boast, that he never learned to do Good; and indeed the whole Course of his Life sufficiently shews it. His Father left the World not without Suspicion of foul Play from him, as *Dion* hints; but, be that as it would, it is certain he had been tampering with the Emperor's Physicians to destroy him; for the first that tasted of his Cruelty were those, whom he instantly put to Death for not obeying his Orders in it†. The greatest Weakness the Father ever betrayed, was his Partiality or Blindness to this incorrigible Son. And he can never be excused for being the Cause of the Death of the Younger, says *Dion*, and having, in some Measure, delivered him over to his Brother, who he might foresee would put him to Death‡.

Geta § was of a different Temper from his Brother, and was very grateful to the Senate and Citizens; he had also a powerful Party, even in the Army. *Caracalla*, aspiring to be sole Emperor, had resolved upon his Brother's Death: But to come at the Fratricide with more Ease and Safety to himself, upon a slight Pretence of Mutiny, he caused 20,000 of the Soldiery, whom he

* This last Sentence is from *Spartian*.

† *Herodian*.

‡ *Xiphiline* from *Dion*.

§ *Nihil inter fratres simile*. *Spartianus*. *Apud exercitum carissimus erat, praesertim quod facie patri simillimus esset*. *Dion*.

suspected to be in his Brother's Interest, to be put to the Sword. This done, it was no great Difficulty to get the rest to proclaim *Geta* an Enemy to his Country; who, upon hearing it, fled for Protection to his Mother *Lulia*. But, alas! it was all in vain, the inhuman Butcher followed his bloody Purpose, and, with his own Hands, pierced the unhappy Prince's Heart, even in the Arms of her who gave him Life. *

Caracalla had still another Obstacle to surmount before he could make himself easy in his Government, and that was the taking off his Father's faithful Friend and Counsellor *Papinian*. This eminent Civilian, whom we have mentioned before, was the greatest Ornament not only of *EBORACVM*, but of the whole Island of *Britain*.

Camden quotes from *Forcatulus*, a French Antiquary †, that the Tribunal at *York* was exceeding happy, in that it heard *Papinian*, the Oracle of Right and Law.

Cujacius, almost as great a Name as the former, gives *Papinian* this high Character, "That he was the most eminent of all Civilians that either ever were in the World, or ever would be; whom no one in the Science of the Law could ever yet outdo, nor can he be equalled in it in any future Times." †

Papinian studied under *Scævola*, was Master of Requests, Treasurer, and Captain of the Guards to *Severus*, and by the Emperor's second Marriage he became nearly related to him. The Exactness and Perfections which are in his Writings, says a modern Author §, and the great Abundance of them, would induce one to think that he exceeded the ordinary Course of Life; but yet his Age was no more than 36 Years, three Months, and ten Days ||, when he was taken off by a violent Death; which, adds our Author, cannot be imputed to any other Cause than his own Virtue, and the Cruelty of him that commanded it. Nor was *Papinian* alone in the

VOL. I.

C

Præ-

* *Ac jam tum ex collo ejus pendeat, adbarebatque ipsius pectori atque uberibus, occidit lamentantem clamantemque, in hæc verba, Mater, mater, genetrix, genetrix fer opem, occidor, &c. Xiphilin. a Dione.*

† *Steph. Forcat. de Gallor. philos. et im.*

‡ *Primus omnium jurisconsultorum qui fuerunt vel futuri sunt; quem nemo unquam juris scientia superavit, nec in posterum æquare poterit. Cujacius.*

§ *Duck de jure civili.*

|| *Gruter, f. 358.*

Prætorium; several other great Names * occur in History, as Counsellors or Coadjutors to him in it. Among these were *Ulpianus* and *Paulus*, the next two learned Men of that Age, and who are supposed to be *Papinian's* Successors in the Tribunal. To these great Men, but more especially to the first, did *Severus*, on his Death-Bed, leave the Guardianship of his Sons, and the whole Affairs of the Empire.

Dio and *Herodian* both write, that *Geta* was slain at Rome, in the Palace, and almost in the Bosom of his Mother. Yet a very learned Antiquary † quotes several Authorities to prove that *Geta's* and *Papinian's* Murders, and probably *Caracalla's* incestuous Marriage with his Father's Wife, were all of them perpetrated in EBORACVM. We shall conclude with the Sense of *Spartian*, who, summing up the good Emperors that had left bad Sons and Successors, leaves this Monster of Mankind this Character, "How happy would it have been to the Empire, if *Severus* had not begot *Bassianus*; who, under Pretence of Plots against himself, and with a patricidal Lye, immediately murdered his innocent Brother; who married his Mother-in-Law, nay rather his Mother, in whose very Bosom he had slain her Son *Geta*; and who destroyed *Papinian*, that Asylum of the Law, and learned Repository of it, because he would not excuse his Brother's Murder?"

The Imperial Court having resided at EBORACVM, from *Severus's* first coming to it, to *Caracalla's* Return to Rome, must, as we have noted, give a Lustre to our Subject, and make its Glory shine equal, if not superior, to the most renowned Cities in the Empire. From *Severus's* excellent Government, and his Son's leaving the Island, for near the Space of an Age, we hear no more of our City; and indeed but lightly of the Affairs of Britain in general. Those ancient Depredators, the *Picts* and *Scots*, were so humbled and cooped in by the Emperor's Conduct, and his prodigious Wall that he had built and garrisoned against them, that it required much Time for them to surmount those Difficulties. In the

* There are 25 more Names of Persons as Auditors to *Papinian*, and Counsellors to *Severus* at York. See *Isaacson's* Chronology from *Lamprid. Func. Helvet. &c.*

† See *Burton's Ant. itin.*

the mean-time the gallant sixth Legion continued in their old Quarters at York; and though not in War, were certainly not in a State of Indolency. The many noble high Roads, the Vestiges of which are in many Places still very extant, make it obvious, that neither they nor their Fellow Soldiers in other Legions, in the Times of profoundest Peace, wanted Employment. The peaceable Age the Island enjoyed after *Severus*, is thought by most Historians, to be the Time the *Roman* Soldiers were employed by their Commanders in casting up Highways, making of Bricks, cutting down Woods, and draining of Bogs. This Work was extremely necessary for the more effectually enslaving a free People, by destroying their Fastnesses, and the quicker March of Troops and Military Engines from Place to Place, as Occasion required.

It is not to be expected that we should meet with such noble Remains of high Roads round York, as are yet apparent on the *Appian* and *Flaminian* Ways in *Italy*. Those Roads to the great City were no Doubt laid with wonderful Care and Cost; besides, the Dryness of that Climate and Soil, when compared with ours, must make a great Difference, as to the sinking or turning up of the Agger which composed them. But we can, however, make a Boast of several remarkable Vestiges in this Kind of *Roman* Industry, which are to be seen at this Day in our Neighbourhood. Which Roads, tending all from different Sea-Ports and Stations, and pointing directly at the City itself, must make it very considerable.

The Discovery of several of these Roads, as also of many other *Roman* Works in and near this City, was wholly owing to the indefatigable Industry of the learned Antiquary *Francis Drake*, Esq; late of this City, Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies.

It is easy to see, that *EBORACVM* is the Principal of all these *Itinera*, or Routes. And as at *Rome* there was a gilded Pillar set up at the Head of the *Forum*, in *umbilico urbis* *, by the Order of *Augustus*, from whence the Mensuration of the Roads quite through *Italy* were taken;

C 2

* *Suetonius. Dio.* Mr. *Lassels* writes that this Pillar was standing in *Rome* in his Time. *Lassels's* Voyage to *Italy*.

taken; so it is more than barely probable that a Pillar of this Kind was erected by *Severus* at *EBORACVM*, to serve for the same Purpose through *Britain*. It must at least be acknowledged that *York* is at this Day the only Point from whence we can, with Certainty, fix any *Roman* Station in the North of *England*.

Some of these Military Pillars, or Mile-Stones, found in the North of *England*, are preserved and given in *Mr. Horsley's Brit. Romana*; and *Mr. Drake* saw several on the *Roman* Roads leading to this City, but the Inscriptions worn off.

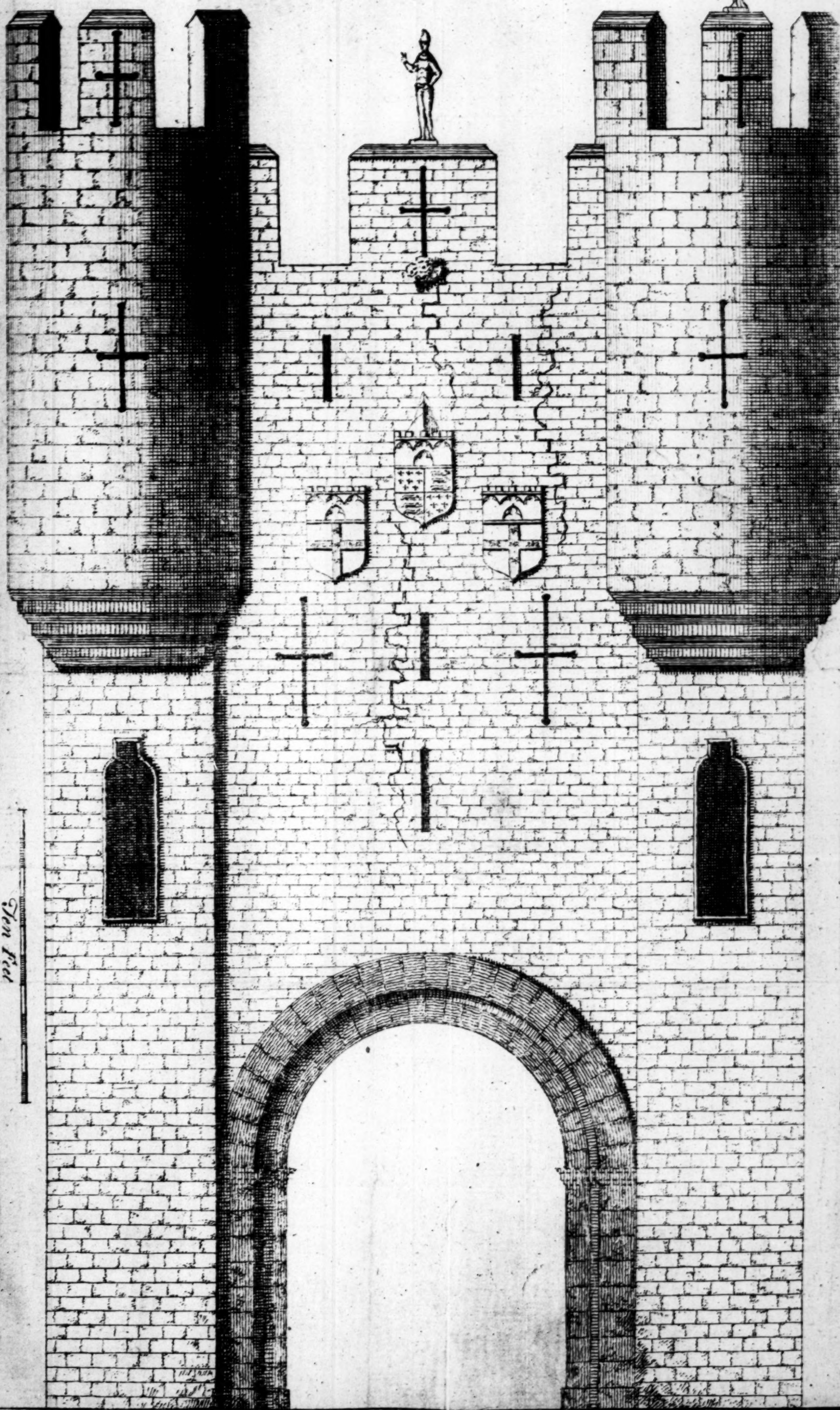
The several *Itinera*, or *Roman* Land-Roads, which led to *EBORACVM*, were, 1. from *Ravenburgh*^a, or *Spurn-Point*, by *Londesbrough*^b (where it is joined by that from *Lincoln*^c by *Brough*^d) and *Stamfordbridge*. — 2. From *Sureby*^e, near *Flamborough-Head*, by *Sledmire* and *Malton*^g, where it is joined by that from *Whitby*^h. 3. From the *Tees*-Mouth over *Hambleton* and by *Crake*. 4. The *Iter ad Vallum*, leading by *Piersebridge*, *Catterick*, *Aldbrough*^k, and *Aldwark*. — 5. From *Ribchester*^l, in *Lancashire*, by *Skipton*, *Ilkley*^m, *Abberford*, and *Tadcaster*ⁿ. This is joined at *Abberford* by the Road from *Chester*^o by *Manchester*^p and *Almonbury*^q; another from *Derby*, and a third from *Doncaster*; which two latter unite at *Pontefract*^r.

Besides these Land-Roads which led to *EBORACVM* from so many different Stations, the Communication by Water was open to the *German* Ocean, and consequently Vessels might arrive there from any Port in the Empire, nor was there a Ship then in Use, but might be moored under the very Walls of the City. By this Way the vast Armament they kept garrisoned on the Wall, the other Northern Stations, and in the City itself, were supplied with Corn as well as other Provisions brought from the Southern and more cultivated Parts of the Island, with Ease, along that famous *Roman* Work called the *Car-Dike*, extending from *Peterborough* to

Lincoln.

^a *Prætorium*. ^b *Delgovitia*. ^c *Lindum*. ^d *Bracchium*. ^e *Deventio*. ^f *Gabrantvicorum Sinus Salutaris*, ^g *Camulodunum*. ^h *Dunus Sinus*. ⁱ *Cataraetonium*. ^k *Isurium*. ^l *Coccium*. ^m *Osana*. ⁿ *Calcaria*. ^o *Deva*. ^p *Mancunium*. ^q *Cambodunum*. ^r *Legeolium*.

The Roman arch in micklegate-bar York.



200 feet

Lincoln, and the *Foss-Dike*, from thence into the *Trent*; through which the Navigation of the Corn-Boats was continued across the *Humber* and the River *Ouse* to *York*. From the extraordinary Care and Pains the *Romans* bestowed in making the great Cuts aforesaid, we must be assured that their Receptacles at *York*, both on Land and Water, were proportionably large, to contain the prodigious Quantity of Corn that was brought, and the vast Number of Boats necessary for the Conveyance of it to the City. The River *Ouse* was by no Means either large or safe enough for the Purpose, by Reason of the great Land-Floods, which often come impetuously down it. They had Recourse then to a more noble Undertaking; which was, to cut another River, and bring down as much Water as they wanted from the Country above them. This is what we call the *Foss*, whose very Name still retains the Memory of its Original. Its Source is no higher up the Country than about a Dozen Miles North of the City; and by making this cut many Conveniences accrued: For it was not only a considerable Drain to the great Forest of *Galtres* on that Side, which before must have been a perfect Bog by its Flatness; but it would also add to the Fortification of the City, and at the same Time serve to fill up a large Basen, or Reservoir, necessary for the Reception, and laying up in Safety, of the Number of Boats employed in this Navigation.

Whoever will take a Survey of the *Foss* at *York*, or consider it in the Print or Plan of the City, will surely be of Opinion, that this *Foss* was no other than an artificial Conveyance for their Vessels to pass and repass to and from this Part of the Town. The great Dam Head, which is thrown cross the *Foss* at the *Castle-Mills*, seems by its present Strength to have been the ancient Flood-gates, or Stoppage, to the Water on that Side. Thro' this Sluice the Vessels were let into the Water, which formerly not only surrounded the Castle and Tower, but made a very considerable Basen besides. But the Land Dock, or Reservoir of Water, lay still higher in the City, and extended, probably, over all that Morass called now the *Foss-Island*, from *Foss-Bridge* to *Layr-orp-Bridge*. This Island is far from being firm Land at present; and no Doubt is collected since the Time of

the *Romans*. For it was certainly navigable for Fishing-Boats down as low as the Time of *Edward III.* and was then called *Stagnum Regis de Foss*. This will appear by several Grants and Inquisitions taken at that Time, relating to this Fishery, which will be recited when we come to treat of this particular Place in the Sequel. The King's Claim to this Water and the Fishery of it was then of great Extent, for it reached from the *Castle-Mills*, then also called the *King's Mills*, up as high as the Abbot of *St. Mary's Mills*, which formerly stood on the *Foss* above *Earsley-Bridge*, in the Road to *Huntington*.

This prodigious Collection of Water, which now has no less than five Bridges laid over different Parts of it to come at the City by, was certainly a great Security to it on that Side; but the main Dock, we take it, was principally where the Island is at present. In this noble Basen some Hundreds of Vessels, such as they then used, might lie in the utmost Safety. From the East there came in, or rather was drawn into it, another Stream, called also the *Foss*. And as the Tides from the River *Ouse* had likewise a Communication with it, there could be no Fear of wanting Water either Winter or Summer. Thus did *Roman Art* and Ingenuity abundantly make up what Nature had denied to the Situation of *EBORACVM*. For though the River *Ouse* was then navigable, and was so several Ages after, for any Ship then used at Sea; yet the Narrowness of the River would not allow Room for such a Number of Vessels to lie together, as must necessarily meet on this Occasion.

Besides, we are well acquainted by Tradition, History, and our own Records, that very able Merchants, who have been Magistrates of this City, and at the same Time Mayors of the Staple of *Calais*, lived all along the Side of the *Foss*, from *Castlegate* up to *Peaseholmgreen*, and no Doubt had their Warehouses upon it.

The Merchants-Hall at *York*, a fine spacious old Building, stands upon this Navigation. The Company of Merchants is still called the *Old Hans Company*, which derives its Name from being free of the *Hans Towns*, or the great trading Towns in the East. This Hall was their Bourse or Exchange, and was no Doubt built where it is for their more frequent and convenient Meeting in it.

At the Extremity of this grand Bason, beyond *Layrthorp-Bridge*, is a Place at this Day called *Jewbury*, quasi *JEWBURG*; which certainly was the District allowed those mercantile People to live in, *extra muros*; and where they might also have the Advantage of this Navigation.

Lastly, we have been told by living Witnesses, that in their Time they had seen dug up broken Planks of Boats, Iron Rings, and Anchors, near *Layrthorp-Bridge*, which most evidently shews, that the Navigation from the *Ouse* reached at least so high as to this Part of the City.

It does not appear any where that we know of when this Navigation was disused; it is probable they were choaked out of it by Degrees; and the Bason in Time filling up, would soon become firm Land, if the Stoppage at the Water-Mills below was taken away.

What a noble Piece of Water must here anciently have been; a Bason, or Dock, of more than a Mile in Circumference: What a Sight must it have been to see it filled with *Roman* Ships, Gallies, and Boats for Pleasure and Use! But that very Place which was then one of the greatest Ornaments of old *EBORACVM*, has been for many Years the Disgrace of *YORK*, by being in Summer Time little better than a stinking Morass, owing to the Stoppage at the *Castle Mills*; which also overflows, at all Seasons of the Year, some Hundreds of Acres of the richest Land about the City. This Nuisance has long been complained of, and we hope will soon be remedied by Authority of Parliament, an Act, as we are informed, being now (*Anno 1771*) soliciting for taking down the Mills and making the *Foss* navigable.

The Place where the Castle of *York* now stands, in all Probability was, in the Time of the *Romans*, the grand Magazine or Repository for the Corn aforesaid; there being Space enough within its Area for such a Purpose. The *Foss* washing the Walls, and anciently drawn round both Castle and Tower, added a great Strength to its natural Situation. It was an easy Matter here for Boats to unload, and then go up further into the Dock, to lie there till another Occasion.

Just below the Castle the *Foss* is called *Foss-Dike*, and *Browney*, or *Brown Ea-Dike*, to its Entrance into the *Ouse*. The former Part of the last Name seems to be compounded of an old *English* Adjective and a *Norman* Sub-

32 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

Substantive. The A. S. BRUN, *Fuscus*, Brown, and *Eau*, Water, a proper Appellation for the Liquid that runs through it, being chiefly drawn from Moors and Morasses above the City. *Dike* is here expressive enough, and having the same Termination at *York* that the grand Canal has in the Counties of *Lincoln* and *Nottingham*, most evidently proves both to be artificial Conveyances. The *Saxon Dig** is as plainly deduced from the Verb to *Dig*, as the *Latin*, *fossa a fodiendo*. And though in several Places these Words are alternately used, and sometimes put together, to denote a *Roman* Cut, high Road, dry Ditch, or Bank; yet, wet or dry, no Place in *Britain* can claim either of these Appellations from a natural Cause.

And now, to pursue the Course of our Annals, we must put the Reader in Mind that the Emperor *Severus* being dead, and his Son returned to *Rome*, the *Roman* Historians inform us of no Wars or Commotions in *Britain* for near the Space of a Century from that Period, *viz.* under the Reign of the Emperor *Dioclesian*, when six General Officers rebelled; amongst whom *Carausius*†, who was sent by the Emperor with a Fleet to guard the *Belgick* Coasts, took an Opportunity to slip over into *Britain*, and got himself proclaimed Emperor at *York*. This *Carausius*, according to *Eutropius*, was originally a *Briton*, but of mean and obscure Parentage. The *Scotch* Historians mention him, though they differ from the *Latin* as to Chronology, and say, That, to secure himself in *Britain*, he entered into a fast League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whose Assistance he overcame *Quintus Bassianus*, a *Roman* Lieutenant, who was sent over by *Dioclesian* to dispossess and destroy him. †

They add, That after *Carausius* had got himself proclaimed King of *Britain* at *York*, he retained 2000 *Picts* and *Scots* for his Life-Guards, and gave up all the Lands, from *Hadrian's* Wall to the City of *York*, to the Kings of those Countries, as their Patrimony for ever, and as a Reward to them for this Service.

How

* *Dic Dice*. *Vallum*, *Fossa*, a Trench, a Ditch, a Dike, a Mote. *Limes ille de quo in Chron. Saxon. ad Ann. 905. mentio facta, fortasse Foss-Dike, agros Cantabrigiensem & Suffolciensem qui disturminat.* *Somner Dict. Saxon.*

† *Victor Diac.*

‡ *Hollinghead's Scotch Chron. Hester Boetius, Buchanan.*

How far this Testimony may be depended upon, we shall not determine, but that *Carausius* called himself *Cæsar*, and was resident in *Britain*, the many Coins of his Stamp, found no where but in this Island, do sufficiently testify. Our City, and especially *Aldburgh*, have turned out several; and at the last-mentioned Place the Coins of this Emperor are as frequently found as of most others. In all Probability he was slain by his Friend *Allectus* at *York*, or in these Parts; who immediately after took upon him the same Authority, as his Coins do bear Witness, which are equally common among us. *Allectus* bore Sway here till *Constantius*, surnamed *Chlorus*, was made Emperor; who, coming over into *Britain*, slew *Allectus*, and reduced the Province to its former Obedience. This Tyrant, we are told, was also of *Plebeian* Race, and had been originally a Smith, for the Soldier who killed him, told him, for the Sake of greater Ignominy, that it was with a Sword of his own making.

Constantius had married a *British* Lady called *Helena*, the Daughter of *Gallius*, *Colius*, or *Coel*, one of our Island Kings. Authors clash violently in Opinion relating to the Character of this Lady; some allowing her to be no better than a common Prostitute*; whilst others, especially those of the *Romish* Persuasion, cry her up as a Saint, and set her at the Head of the Calendar. Mr. *Bale*, no Favourer of Saints or Superstition, has dressed our *Helen* up in the greatest Ornaments, both of Mind and Body, that ever adorned her Sex.†

The Marriage of *Constantius* with the Princess *Helena*, must have happened several Years before his last-mentioned Expedition into *Britain*; for *Constantine*, the Issue of it, was above 30 Years old at his Father's Death. The Panegyrist ‡, (whom we shall have great Occasion to quote in the Sequel) in his Oration to that Emperor, tells him, That he was begot in the very Flower and Pride of his Father's Youth; which Time, upon casting backwards, will fall to be in the Distractions of *Britain*, under the Usurpations of the thirty Tyrants; or *Anno Christi* 272.

The

* Milton, &c.

† Baleus de script. Britan.

‡ Eumenius inter panegy. veteres.

The learned Cardinal *Baronius*, a Foreigner, and who had no Occasion to compliment *Britain* with the Honour of being the Birth-Place of *Constantine the Great*, makes this Expedition of *Constantius* into the Province, to happen *Anno Christi* 274*. It was then, he says, that *Constantius*, surnamed *Chlorus*, only a *Patrician*, or Senator of *Rome*, yet of Imperial Lineage, and related to the late Emperor *Claudius*†, was sent first into *Britain*; to the End that he might contain that Nation, frequently accustomed to Revolts, in their Duty and Allegiance to the Emperor. Here is a Contradiction amongst some of our Chronologers of a Year or two; but that does not much alter the Case. *Aurelian* was then Emperor, and *Constantius*, a young and bold Commander, was employed by him in the Reduction of this Province; which, as well as that of other Parts of the Empire, was at last effected. He was at that Time made *Proprætor*‡, and lived several Years in the Island; for being of a graceful Personage§, says our Authority, and of a bold and enterprizing Genius, he was the fittest to bear Rule in so turbulent a Province. That the Emperor *Aurelian* did send Aid into *Britain*, needs no other Testimony than the *Mauri Aureliani* stationed in the *Notitia*, much further North than *York*; and who certainly derived their Name from that Emperor.

There is no Part of *Roman History*, relating to their Transactions in *Britain*, so dark as at this Period; that is, towards the latter End of the third Century. And if we consider that the Empire was then torn and divided into many Shares, and continually disturbed by civil Diffensions at home, it is no Wonder that *Britain*, a remote Province, was little taken Notice of in the Histories of those Times: For this Cause it is, that we cannot trace *Constantius* at *EBORACVM*, whilst he was only *Proprætor* or Lieutenant of *Britain*; but there is all the Reason in the World to believe that he made this Place his chief Residence whilst he was Deputy, since he certainly did so when he was Principal.

Our Chronologers make this last Expedition of *Constantius*

* *Baronii Ann. ad An. 306. Sect. 16.*

† *Post duos familiæ tuæ tertius imperator. Panegyr. ad Const. No. IX.*

‡ *Zosimus l. 6. et not. Joseph. Scaliger in Eusebium, An. 273.*

§ *Eurip. apud Porphy.*

Constantius into *Britain*, to fall in the Year 305, and two Years after he is said to have died in this City*.

Eusebius, in his Life of the Son, is, very particular in describing the last Moments of the Father.

Constantine, who had been left as a Pledge of his Father's Fidelity with his Colleagues *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* at *Rome*, having great Reason to suspect they meant him no Good, escaped from thence, and, with wonderful Celerity and Cunning in his Flight †, came and presented himself to his Father at *York*. The Sight of his eldest and best-beloved Son, whom he had long wished for, but never hoped to see, so revived the dying Emperor, that raising himself in Bed, and embracing him closely, he gave Thanks to the Gods for this great unexpected Favour; affirming, that now Death was no Terror to him, since he had seen his Son, and could leave his yet unaccomplished Actions to be performed by him. Then gently lying down, he disposed of his Affairs to his own Mind; and taking Leave of his Children of both Sexes, who, says our Authority, like a Choir, stood and encompassed him lying in the Imperial Palace and Royal Bed ‡; and having delivered over to the Hands of the eldest, as natural Reason required, the Imperial Dominion, he expired.

We have here another Instance of an Imperial Palace at *EBORACVM*, which two of the greatest and most admired Pagan Emperors the *Roman* State ever saw, lived and died in. It is true *Eusebius* does not expressly mention that *York* was the Place where *Constantius* breathed his last; but other Authorities, particularly *St. Jerome*, and *Eutropius*, a Heathen Writer of that Age, confirm it.

Obiit in BRITANNIA EBORACI principatus autem tertio decimo, et inter di-vos relatus est ||. He died at *York* in *Britain*

* *Ducange*, in famil. aug. *Bixant*, writes, that he died here, July 25, Anno Christi 307.

† He is said to have hamstringed all the Post-Horses he made Use of, to prevent a Pursuit

‡ *In palatio et in regio cubuli jacens.*—*Eusebius versione Valesii* vita *Constantini*.

|| *Principatus anno tertio decimo. Nota, falsum est: si enim annos, quibus Cæsaris potestatem exercuit, jungas cum annis, quibus Augustum imperium obtinuit, annos xv. inuenies; quippe creatus est Cæsar, ab urbe cond. 1043. P. C. 291. deinde Augustus factus anno U. C. 1056. P. C. 304. decessit biennio post et tribus mensibus. Eutrop. not. prior. et S. Havercampi.*

tain in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, and is enrolled amongst the Gods.

If then *Constantius* died at *York*, there must his Funeral Obsequies be solemnized, and, as we have Reason to believe, his Ashes entombed; as also, the Ceremony of the *Apotheosis*, or Deification, conferred upon him.

Eusebius writes, That his Son and Successor, *Constantine the Great*, was immediately, upon his Father's Death, saluted Emperor, and was invested with the Purple Robe in his Father's own Palace*. After which the dead Emperor's Funeral Rites were performed with the utmost Magnificence, an infinite Number of People assisting, who, with Dances, Songs, and loud Acclamations, congratulated his Ascension to the Gods. †

Rome, in the Heighth of all her Grandeur and Magnificence, had not a more glorious Show to exhibit than the *Apotheosis*, or Deification, of their Emperors. It is here we want an *Herodian* to give us the Ceremony of the Funeral and *Apotheosis* of *Constantius*, as particularly as that Author has described those of *Severus*. But that the Reader may have some Notion of this uncommon Piece of Roman Pageantry, we beg Leave, from *Herodian*, to give a Description of it; and we make no Doubt but this Ceremony was performed alike at *York* as at *Rome*.

“ The Image of the dead Emperor, being exquisitely molded of Wax to resemble a sick Person, was laid on an Ivory Bed, ready furnished in the Porch of his Palace: The Princes and Senators sat all on the Left Side of the Bed, clad in black Habits, whilst the Ladies, in white Robes, sat on the other, the Physicians diligently attending. When seven Days were ended, as if he was then just dead, the Image was taken up by the prime Nobility with the Bed, and carried into the *Forum*, where all the *Prætorian* Youth and Noble Virgins encompassed it, singing most doleful Hymns and Dirges. From thence the Image, &c. was removed to the Field of *Mars*, where a Frame of Timber was erected, four-square, of a very great Com-

* *Paterna ornatus purpura*——paternis ædibus. *Havercampi*.

† The Panegyrist to *Constantine*, whom we shall quote more fully in the Sequel, expresses this Deification in these Words; *Vere enim profecto illi superum templa patuerunt, receptusque est confessu caligine Jove ipso dextram porrigente. Panegyri. veteres, n. v.*

as and Height, the Gradations still ascending pyramidically to the Top, richly adorned with Gold and Purple Ornaments, and Statues of great Art and Price. On the second of these Ascents was placed the Imperial Bed and Image, with a prodigious Quantity of odorous Gums and Perfumes. The young Nobility surrounded the Pile in a Kind of Dance, whilst others represented those amongst the *Romans* who had commanded Armies, or governed the Empire with the greatest Glory. His Successor first put Fire to the Frame, and after him the People on all Sides did the like. When all was in a Blaze, an Eagle, secretly inclosed within, was let fly out of the Top of the Pile, the Multitude following its Flight with Shouts and Prayers, supposing that therewith the Emperor was mounted into Heaven."

Eusebius, a Christian Writer of that Age, has left *Constantius* this great Character. "A while after, the Emperor *Constantius*, a Man agreeable in every Point of Life, who was remarkable for his Clemency to his Subjects, and a singular Benevolence to those of our Persuasion, leaving his eldest Son Emperor in his Stead, was snatched away by Death; he was, by Pagan Custom, enrolled amongst the Gods, and had all the Honours, which had ever been paid at their Funerals, bestowed upon him. He was the most benign and merciful of all Princes; and of all the Emperors up to our Time, he, alone, led a Life suitable to his great Dignity. Lastly, as in other Things, he was humane and beneficent to all; so towards us he behaved with great Moderation, and kept the true Worshippers of God, who lived under his Government, free from Harm or Danger; neither destroying our Churches, or suffering any Thing to molest us; for which God so blessed him, that this excellent Father left a more excellent Son, the Heir of his well-acquired Empire." *

Constantius being dead, and his Funeral Obsequies being solemnized at *York*, we come next to inquire where his Ashes were deposited. None of the Historians we have mentioned take Notice of this Circumstance; but since they are at the same Time silent as to their being removed from hence, we may justly conclude, that where the Tree fell, there it was ordered to

VOL. I.

D

lies

* *Eusebii Eccles. Hist. lib. iv.*

lie. *Matthew of Westminster* * mentions a Place in *Wales*, where, he says, the Tomb of *Constantius* was found; but the old Monk seems to doat in this Story, and there is no other Authority, that we know of, to confirm it. Our great Antiquary, *Camden*, has given some Light into this Affair, and perfectly secured to us the Honour of this Emperor's Sepulchre, if you do not believe that the Lamp, which he was credibly informed, when at *York*, was found burning in a vaulted Tomb, within a little Chapel, soon after the Reformation, was any more than an *Ignis fatuus*. † The Intelligence about the Lamp, our Author says, he had from several understanding Men in the City, who told him, that the Vault was found under Ground, in a Place where constant Fame had ever reported the Ashes of *Constantius* to be laid. Tho' *Camden* mentions not the particular Place where this wonderful Monument was discovered, yet since no Age can produce an Interval where Churches, &c. were so narrowly searched, and so severely plundered, as this we have mentioned, this ancient Sepulchre might then be broke up, and pried into for an imaginary Treasure, which the most barbarous Pagan Nations, who had so often taken and sacked *York* since the Death of *Constantius*, had never presumed to do.

To add a little more Confidence to this Story from *Camden*, we must say that Tradition still informs us, that the Sepulchre he speaks of was found in the Parish Church of *St. Helen* on the Wall, which once stood in *Aldwark*. This Church was demolished at the Union of them in the City; and it is not impossible that *Constantine the Great*, when converted to Christianity, might order a Church or Chapel to be erected over his Father's Ashes, which was dedicated, perhaps after his Time, to his Mother: For since he must have a Sepulchre somewhere amongst us, we know no Place, in or about the City, more likely for it to have stood in than this.

But the Story of the *Burning Lamp* will require a little further Disquisition. Our Antiquary has in some Measure given us a Receipt out of *Laxius* for this wonderful Composition; a Fiction, we doubt, he too readily credited. We are aware of several great and venerable Names, such as *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Baptista*

* In West. in An. 1283.

† Gibson's Camden, see York.

Sta Porta, Licetus, Pancirollus, St. Austin, &c. that gave testimony of the Truth of this; from whom we learn, that the Ancients had a Method to dissolve Gold into a petty Substance that would burn for Ages. But, with Submission to these great Authorities, we shall sooner concur in Opinion with that eminent Antiquary of our own Days, *Montfaucon*, who says it is impossible that there ever was, or could be, such Lamps in the World. Our natural Philosophy, as well as our natural Reason, teaches that no Fire can subsist without Air; whereas this unaccountable Flame is said to be extinguished by it.

But to conclude this Head: That there never were such Things as everlasting Lamps, is no Argument that the Tomb of *Constantius* might not have been found in this City at the Time before mentioned. Something extraordinary must have been discovered to give Occasion for the Report; and the Story of the burning Lamp, which was said to be found in the Tomb of *Tullia, Cicero's* daughter, might be feigned to give the greater Authority to the Conjecture.

Upon the Demise of the last Emperor, the Army and People of *Rome*, who were then in this City, immediately proclaimed *Constantine*, his eldest Son, his Successor. The Imperial Purple was put on him by the Soldiers; which, we are told, he accepted of with some reluctance; nay even that he mounted his Horse and rode away from the Army, who pursued him with the robe of Royalty*, and did not accept of it without tears. The Surprise of his Father's Death, and this unwelcome Dignity, might stagger the young Prince's mind at first; but being persuaded by his Friends, the Princes of the Empire; particularly, says an Historian, *Eroclus*, a German King†, who then was in the

D 2

Court

* *Imperator transitum facturus in cælum, vidit quem relinquebat credem. Illico enim atque ille terris fuerat exemptus, universus in te sedit exercitus, te omnium mentes oculique signarunt; et quanquam ad seniores principes de summa reip. quid fieri placeret retulisses, venerunt tamen studio, quod illi mox judicio probaverunt. Purpura statim tibi, cum primus copiam tui fecit egressus milites, utilitate publica magis quam tuis affectibus servientes, injecere lacrymanti, ne enim fas erat diutius flere principem consecratum. Diceris etiam, imperator invictè, ardorem te deposcentis exercitus fugere conatus, equum caribus incitasse; quod quidem, ut verum audias, adolescentiæ ex faciebus, &c. Eumenii panegy. ad Const. Mag.*

† *Victor, in epitom. Cæsar.*

Court at *York*, he at last accepted of this high Command.

The Inauguration of this great Monarch, which must have happened in our City, as likewise a strong Claim we have to the drawing his first Breath in it, will render it ever famous to Posterity: And tho' this last be somewhat more dubious than the former, yet the Honour is so great, that the Argument requires a more than ordinary Disquisition, which we shall attempt in the Sequel.

The Pomp and Ceremony of receiving the Imperial Purple, at a Time when the *Roman* Power extended over most of the then known World, and had either their tributary Kings in Person, their Hostages, or their Ambassadors constantly resident with them, must add a prodigious Lustre to *EBORACVM*, and gives us Reason to call it here once again *ALTERA ROMA*.

We can meet with no Historian that has been particular enough to describe the Investiture of this August Emperor in the Colours it deserves. We are told, however, that the *British* Soldiers in *Roman* Pay saluted their Countryman, *Constantine*, Emperor at *York*, and presented him with a *Tufa*, or Golden Ball, as a Symbol of his Sovereignty over the Island of *Britain*. He was much taken with this Emblem, and upon his Conversion to Christianity placed a Cross upon it, and had it carried before him in all Processions whatsoever. Since this Emperor's Time it is become the usual Sign of Majesty, and usurped, says an Author *, by all other Christian Princes, and reckoned amongst their Regalia.

The Birth of *Constantine the Great*, according to a very learned Chronologer †, happened in the Year of *Christ* 272. His Words are, *Constantinus Magnus hunc Anno in Britannia natus, Patre Constantio et Matre Helena*. We have hinted before, that it was probably when *Constantius* was Legate in *Britain* under the Emperor *Aurelian*, and the whole Number of the Years of *Constantine's* Life confirm this Chronology; but we find that not only the express Place where this great Man was born, but even the Country, is disputed. For the latter, three as eminent Writers, as ever any Age produced, have put the Affair out of Contradiction; and

* *Churchill's Divi Britan.* † *Chron. Abrahami Buchek.*

if so, what particular Place in *Britain* can bid fairer for
than *EBORACUM*? *

The Proofs that the learned Authors, whose Names
we have given in the Notes, bring to shew their Assertion
just, are too copious and too foreign to our Purpose, ex-
cepting the Quotations from the Panegyrist, whose Ora-
tion to *Constantine*, supposed to be made at his Acces-
sion, and consequently at *York*, is very remarkable.

The Passages which seem to make it evident that this
Emperor was born in *Britain*, we shall beg Leave to
give in the Orator's own Words and Expression. The
first is taken from an Oration made to *Constantine* and
Maximian by an uncertain Orator †; who, expatiating
on the great Honour and Benefits done to *Britain* by
him and his Father, has this remarkable Expression:
Liberavit ille Britannias servitute, tu enim nobiles illic
oriendo fecisti.

In the Oration made to *Constantine* alone, by *Eumen-
sius*, he speaks thus: *O fortuna et nunc omnibus beator*
erris Britannia, quæ CONSTANTINVM CÆSAREM prima
vidisti!

The last Passage, which we shall quote from these Au-
thorities, comes yet closer to the Matter.

SACRVM ISTVD PALATIVM, non candidatus imperii, sed
designatus, intraisti; confestimque te illi paterni lares
successorem videre legitimum. Neque enim erat dubium
quin ei competeret hæreditas, quem primum imperatori filium
tata tribuissent. Te enim tantum ille, & imperator in ter-
ris, & in cælo Deus, in primo ætatis suæ flore generavit,
oto adhuc corpore vigens, illa præditus alacritate & forti-
tudine, quam bella plurima, præcipue campi Vindonis ido-
ei testes declararunt. Inde est quod tanta ex illo in te for-
æ similitudo transiit, ut signata natura vultibus tuis
impressa videator. †

It cannot be denied that the Palace here spoken of
must have been at *EBORACVM*, that sacred Palace made
so illustrious and ever memorable for the Residence
and Deaths of two *Roman* Emperors, and in all Proba-
bility for the Birth and Inauguration of a third. It may

D 3

be

* *Baronii Cardinal. Annal. tom. 3. ad An. 306, sect. 16.—Usher*
le Primord. Eccles. Britan. c. 8, et Epist. illic ad Gaul. Camd.—
Job. Selden ad Justum Lipsium, &c.

† *Incerti panegy. Maxim. et Constantine, n. v.*

‡ *Eumenii Panegy. N°. IX.*

be thought perhaps too partial in applying the first Part of the foregoing Paragraph to our Subject, tho' the Orator seems to speak thus to *Constantine* in it, "Thou didst enter that sacred Palace where thy Father lay expiring, and where thou drewest thy first Breath, not as a Candidate, but born to the Empire. And no sooner did those paternal Household Gods behold thee, but they instantly acknowledged thee thy Father's lawful Successor: For what Doubt could there be who should succeed to the Empire, but he whom they knew was the Emperor's eldest Son? Thou, whom thy Father, once Lord of the Earth, and now a God in Heaven, begot in the Flower of his Age †, his Body yet nervous and strong; endued with that Alacrity and Fortitude, which many Wars, especially that of the *Vindonian* Camp, gave sufficient Proof of. Whence it was that the Likeness of thy Father's Person so passed into thee, that his natural Impress is clearly seen in thy Countenance."

But that his Birth was at *York*, and not elsewhere, says Mr. *Burton* ‡, was evinced by the Ambassadors of *England*, in the Hearing of the learned World, both at the Council of *Constance*, as also at *Basil*. At the former, (1414) there being a Contest about Precedency between the *French* and *English* Ambassadors, the *English* had these Words: *Domus regalis Angliæ sanctam Helenam, cum suo filio Constantino Magno Imperatore, nato in urbe regia EBORACENSI, educere comperta est.* "It is well known that the Royal House of *England* produced *S. Helen*, with her Son the Emperor *Constantine the Great*, born in the Imperial City *EBORACVM*." The *English* again at *Basil* (1431) opposing the Precedency of *Castile*, speak thus: *CONSTANTINVM illum Magnum, qui primus imperator Christianus licentiam dedit per universum orbem ecclesias constituere, immensa ad hoc conferent bona, Peterne natum in EBORACENSI civitate.* "CONSTANTINE the Great, the first Christian Emperor, who gave Leave to build Churches through the Universe, to the immense Benefit of it, was born at *Peterne* in the City of *York*." *Peterne* is corrupted from *Bedbern*, now a College of Vicars-Choral belonging to the Cathedral; but what Tradition does assure us was anciently Part of the Imperial Palace at *York*."

As

† When he was about twenty-four Years old, says *Patarel*.

‡ *Burton's Anton. Itinerary.*

As we think these Quotations sufficient to secure to us the Honour of the Birth of this most illustrious Emperor, we shall not trouble our Readers any more about it, but leave the Matter to nicer Judgments to determine, and conclude with this Assertion, That if the Birth of *Constantine* cannot be clearly made out, *York* has more to say for it than any other City in the World.

The *Britons* remained quiet during the long Reign of *Constantine*, according to the *Latin* Historians; yet the *Scotch* Chroniclers * remark, that in his twentieth Year, (325) *Octavius*, King of the *Britons*, rebelled, but was soon vanquished by *Traberus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant, and forced to fly for Aid to *Fincomark*, King of *Scotland*. The *Roman* General demanded the Rebel, as he called him, of the *Scotch* King, and he refusing, a War ensued, wherein the *Romans* are said to be worsted; their General flying to *York*, durst not stand a Siege, but abandoned the City to the Enemy, who caused *Octavius* to be crowned there King of all *Britain*, the City and Country expressing great Joy on the Occasion. After this we are told that *Octavius*, seeking to dispossess the *Scots* and *Picts* from that Part of the Country allotted to them by *Carausius*, as is before mentioned, called a Council at *York*, in order to find out a Method for it; but the *Scotch* King hearing of this, came suddenly upon *Octavius*, and forced him to fly into *Norway*, &c.

Constantine the Great, for the better Government of his vast and extensive Dominions, divided the whole into four *Præfectures*, viz. *Italy*, *Gaul*, the *East*, and *Illyria*, which contained under them fourteen large *Dioeceses* or *Provinces*. *Britain*, of the fourteen, was subject to the *Præfect* of *Gaul*; and this Province was again subdivided by the Emperor into three Parts, or *Principalities*, viz. *Britannia prima*, or the Country South of the *Thames*, the capital Station probably *London*; *Britannia secunda*, was *Wales*, the Capital perhaps *Isca*, or *Caer-leon*; and *Maxima*, or *Flavia Cæsariensis*, the capital City most certainly *York*. †

It is easy to see, by this Division, that the greatest Part of the Island had *York* for its Metropolis: But we can go further, and make it probable that the supreme

Com-

* *Job. Fordun. Hæf. Boetius. Holling. Scotch Chronicle.*

† See *Selden's* Titles of Honour.

44 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

Command of all the Province of *Britain* proceeded from hence*. For though the *Roman* Garrisons on the Sea-Coasts had their Commanders, called *Comites litoris Saxo-nici*, yet those, with all the inland Guards and Garrisons, were subject to the *Dux Britanniarum*, the Emperor's immediate Representative. That the principal Residence of this supreme Military Officer was always at *York*, in the *Prætorian* Palace there, will appear in the Sequel. The Title of *Maxima*, or *Flavia Cæsariensis*, given to this particular District of *Britain*, in all Probability alludes to the Capital's being the Emperor's Birth Place, to his Accession there, or, perhaps, to both. *Flavius*, or *Flavia*, was his Father's, Mother's, and his own *Prænomen*; and, consequently, whatever Country the Emperor thought fit to bestow it on, must have a particular Allusion, along with *Cæsariensis*, to himself and Family.

More of the Acts of this great Emperor are foreign to our Purpose; he deserted *York* and *Britain*, removing the Seat of the Empire from *Rome* to *Byzantium*, or *Constantinople*. To the Support of which he had drawn great Numbers of *British* Soldiers over with him. *Constantine the Great* died in 337; but from the removing of the Imperial Seat from *Rome*, we may date the Declension of the *Roman* Power in *Britain*, and the Subversion of our *EBORACVM*; though the sixth Legion continued in their old Quarters at *York*, to their final Desertion of the Island, as appears from the *Notitia Imperii*, or general Survey of the Empire, which our best Historians agree was taken but a small Time before that Period.

We have shewn our City at the Summit of its Glory and Magnificence, but must now descend apace; and from being the Residence of the Lords of the Universe, sink at once into the most profound Abyss of human Misery. It is some Happiness that we have but a general Account to give of this great Revolution and dreadful Calamity that befell the *Britons* after being deserted by the *Romans*. Their Historians are now for ever silent, and the little that can be collected of those bloody Times, is chiefly

from
* *Merito contendunt viri docti hanc [civitatem] hujusce insulæ fuisse metropolim; cujus rei argumentum inde capio, quod tempore Constantini Magni videam tractum illum in quo sedet EBORACVM dici Britanniam Primam. Itin. Gale. 20.*

from old *Gildas*, a *British* Writer, who seems to tremble at the bare Description of the Miseries of his Country.

But, to take Leave of our *Roman* Lords and Masters with that Decency they deserve, it may not be improper to let the unlearned Reader understand what Number of Officers and private Men a *Roman* Legion consisted of; next, to shew the Precedence of the sixth, which will be best understood by an Abstract of the Guards and Garrisons from the *Notitia*, under the Command of the *Vir Spectabilis*, as he is there styled, *Dux Britanniarum*; and, lastly, to give an Account what *Roman* Marks of Antiquity devouring Time, with the Assistance of Fire and Sword, Ignorance and Superstition, has not yet been able to erase from amongst us.

Sir *Henry Savile*, in his Notes on *Tacitus*, says "That the *Roman* Legions were generally divided into Footmen and Horsemen, the Number not certain, but changed according to the Difference of Times and Alterations of States. A Legion under the first Emperors consisted of about 6000 Foot and 600 Horse. The first Officer of the Legion was called *Legatus Legionis*, and had Charge both of Horse and Foot under the Lieutenant-General of the Army, or Governor of the Province, for the Emperors; which Lieutenant, or Governor, is commonly called, in *Roman* History, *Proprætor*, as the Governor of the Senate and People was called *Præconsul*. The inferior Officers of the Army were the Centurions, Ensign-Bearers, &c. The Footmen of the Legion were equally divided into ten Cohorts, or Companies, whereof each one had a superintendant Officer. The 600 Horse in the Legion were divided into ten Troops, called *Turme*, every Troop containing three Decuries, or 30 Horse, over whom were placed Officers called *Decurions*, each having a Charge of 10 Horse. The Chief Officer of the Troops was called *Præfectus Turmæ*. The Additions of the Numbers I. II. VI. &c. were given to the Legions at their first Raifing, and the Style *VICTRIX* was bestowed on those who distinguished themselves by some more than ordinary Action in War, which Surname was ever afterwards appropriated to them, as to the sixth Legion at *York*."

By this Account, and what is subsequent, it appears that a whole Legion, to the Number of 6 or 7000 Horse
and

and Foot, were constantly quartered, or more properly stationed, at *York* all the Time the *Romans* were Masters of *Britain*. The several extraordinary Proofs for the Residence of the sixth Legion at *York*, are indisputable; and the last Age having been so fortunate as to find as convincing an Argument that it was also the Station for the ninth, it will not here be improper to give a short Account of them both.

The Legions, Cohorts, and Numbers of the *Roman* Army in *Britain* had their fixed Stations, to which, after every accidental Expedition, they always returned. Here their Families remained in their Absence. Here they erected their Altars, Temples, &c. which were also repaired by the same Legions, &c. successively; for they were as the same Body, or Society, and had one common Sepulture.

There is not a Legion mentioned by any of the Writers of the *Augustan* Story more remarkable than the sixth, its Station at *York* being easily traced for the Space of 300 Years and upwards, which was almost the whole Time that they were Masters of this Province. It was first brought out of *Germany* into *Britain* by the Emperor *Hadrian*, about the Year 120; and *Camden* says that, after it had served him in his more Northern Expedition, it was left as a Garrison at *York*. Here we find it expressly stationed in *Ptolemy's* Geographical Tables of the Empire, who mentions none but the sixth Legion at *York*, and the twentieth at *Chester*, to be in the Province at that Time. In *Antonine's Itinerary* we meet with it again, and it occurs with *York* in all the Northern Journeys. In *Roman* Authors frequent Accounts of this Legion are inserted, and though the particular Name of their Station is not assigned, yet it is sufficiently hinted at; as in this Passage of *Dio**, where he tells us that there were two fixed Legions in the Empire, the one placed in *Lower Britain*, called the *Conquering Legion*; the other in *Judea*, styled the *Iron one*, or *Ferratenfis*. This Province, it is supposed, was divided by *Severus* into *Higher* and *Lower Britain*, and that *York* was the chief Station in the latter is not to be doubted. Nor were the *Roman* Poets wholly silent in assigning due Praises, and pointing us to the Residence of this Legion.

Claudian,

* *Dion Cass. Hist. Rom. l. 55.*

Claudian, in giving an Account of the Legions that were sent to serve *Stilicho* against *Alarick* King of the *Goths*, which happened 200 Years after *Dio's* Time, has these Lines :

*Venit et extremis Legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferroque notatas* *Scoto-Hyberno,*
Perlegit exanimis Pictis moriente figuras. † *Scoto-Brit. Dr. Gale.*

Then from the Borders of the *British* Lands
Came the bold Legion which the *Scot* commands;
Wh' admire the figur'd *Picts*, when dying by their Hands.

We shall only add, that, for the tried Courage and Constancy of our Legion, they had not only the Surname of *Virrix*, but *Pia Fidelis*, given them. *Severus* himself, in an Oration made to his Army, bestowed great *Encomiums* on their Knowledge and Service in the Affairs of the Island; and, for their Fidelity, he said he believed, if there was Occasion, "That they would venture naked thro' the Fire for his Sake †." That this Legion continued in their old Quarters till the Declension of the Empire, appears from the *Notitia Imperii* taken about that Time, and we have Reason to think that they were the last of the *Roman* Forces that were withdrawn from *Britain*; so that, from their Settlement by *Hadrian* to his last-named Period, it will take in the Space of about 20 or 30 Years.

The ninth Legion came over into *Britain* under the Emperor *Claudius*: The Foot of it had the Misfortune to be cut in Pieces by the Forces of Queen *Boadicea*. It was afterwards recruited from *Germany*, says *Tacitus* §; but it suffered again in a fierce Attack of the *Caledonians*, when *Julius Agricola* was Proprætor and Legate here. After this no Manner of Account can be met with of it in any Historian, and it was quite dead to the learned World till two Inscriptions found in our City revived it. The Account when and where these two remarkable Monuments of Antiquity were met with, will fall best in the Sequel.

The

† *Claudian de Bello Getico.*

‡ In oratione ad legatos et præfectos in Britannia; apud *Dion. Hist.* tom. 1. 38.

§ *Annal. lib. xiv.*

The *Notitia* has been published in *England*, first by Mr. *Selden*, then by Dr. *Gale*, and lastly by Mr. *Horsley*. They have all endeavoured, from Mr. *Camden*, later Antiquaries, and their own Conjectures, to affix the present *English* Names of Towns to the ancient Roman Stations. In what we shall chuse to transcribe from this admired Record, we shall follow Mr. *Horsley*'s Version; that Author, as he stood on others Shoulders, and having taken more than ordinary Pains to ascertain the Stations, *ad lineam valli*, and the North of *England*, where he lived, is more to our Purpose; but we shall leave the Reader to consult the Book itself for the Arguments he uses on that Occasion.

The *Notitia*, in L'Abbe's Edition, begins first with the *Vicarius Britanniarum*, next the *Comes litoris Saxonici*, then the *Comes Britannia*, and lastly the *Dux Britanniarum*. It is plain, by the List of the Officers and Districts put under the Vicar-General of *Britain*, that the whole Province was subject to this Civil Magistracy in all legislative Affairs.

Dr. *Stillingfleet* has placed this Dignitary in his Tribunal at *London*, for no Reason that we know of, that Station being not so much as mentioned in the *Notitia*, or even hinted at in all the Account; wherefore we have given the Vicar-General's Court and Officers as actually resident with us at *York*: For where should a Successor of the great *Papinian* sit to execute Judgment, but in the same *Prætorium*, and on the same Tribunal, that he did? It is further observable, that the Consular Governors of the District, called *Maxima Cæsariensis* by *Constantine the Great*, begin the Account; and this Precedency evidently shews it to have been the principal Part, as well as its Capital the principal City, in the Province.

But what more immediately concerns our Subject, and will admit of no Dispute, is the Residence of the *Dux*, General, or Military Commander in *Britain*. That the Reader may see what Pre-eminence and Dignity our City bore in this *Notitia Imperii*, we have thought fit to draw out the Account of the Guards and Garrisons that were stationed in the North under the Command, as the Title directs, of this great General.

|| *Selden's* Titles of Honour. *Inter xv. scriptores. edit. Gale*
Horsley's Britannia Romana.

The first Garrison put down was that of a whole Legion ; and though no Place be mentioned for its Station, yet it most evidently appears from *Ptolemy*, the *Itinerary*, and many other Proofs, that *EBORACVM* was always the stated Quarters of this Legion. The Blank left here then is a singular Honour done to the Capital, and the Residence of the great Officers in it ; for there was no Need to name a Place so notoriously known to be the Head of the Province. Mr. *Horsley* has taken Notice that the Forces, said to be quartered at the following Stations, were all certainly Auxiliaries to the sixth Legion ; and, by inspecting his Map of the Island, it will appear that they lie round about *York* ; which, adds he, was a very proper Situation, if, upon any Occasion, it should have been necessary to call them together. The following is Part of a Copy of this grand Record.

Ex NOTITIA Dignitatum Imperii ROMANI circa Tempora
ARCADII & HONORII. *

Sub Dispositione Viri spectabilis VICARII BRITANNIARVM.

<i>Consulares,</i>	<i>Præfides,</i>
Maximæ Cæsariensis,	Britanniæ Primæ,
Valentiæ.	Britanniæ Secundæ,
	Flaviæ Cæsariensis.

Officium autem habet idem Vir spectabilis VICARIUS hoc
modo : PRINCEPEM de Schola Agentium in Rebus ex
Ducenariis.

Cornicularium,	Adjutorem,
Numerarios duos,	Subadjuvas,
Commentariensem,	Exceptores.
Ab Actis,	Singulares, et reliquos Of-
Curam Epistolarum,	ficiales.

From the NOTITIA, or general Account of the Roman
Empire, taken about the Time of the Emperors *Ar-*
cadius and *Honorius*.

Under the Government of the Honourable the *Vicar-*
General of Britain, Consular Governors of those Parts
of Britain, called *Maxima Cæsariensis* & *Valentia*.

Præfideal Governors of those Parts called *Britannia Prima*,
Britannia Secunda, & *Flavia Cæsariensis*.

VOL. I.

E

The

* About the Year 400.

50 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

The same Honourable *Vicar* has his Court composed in the following Manner :

1. A principal Officer of the *Agents*, chosen out of the *Ducenarii*, or under Officers.
2. A principal Clerk, or Secretary.
3. Two chief Accountants, or Auditors.
4. A Master of the Prisons.
5. A Public Notary.
6. A Secretary for Dispatches.
7. An Assistant, or Surrogate.
8. Under Assistants.
9. Clerks of the Appeals.
Serjeants and other inferior Officers.

Sub Dispositione Viri spectabilis DVCIS BRITANNIARVM.

1. PRÆFECTVS LEGIONIS SEXTÆ.

- | | | |
|---|--------------|--------------------|
| 2. <i>Præfectus equitum Dalmatarum</i> | — | <i>Præsidio.</i> |
| 3. <i>Præfectus equitum Chrispianorum</i> | — | <i>Dano.</i> |
| 4. <i>Præfectus equitum Catafractoriorum</i> | | <i>Morbio.</i> |
| 5. <i>Præfectus numeri Barcariorum Tigritensium</i> | | } <i>Arbeia.</i> |
| 6. <i>Præfectus numeri Nerviorum Diëtensium</i> | | |
| 7. <i>Præfectus numeri Vigilum</i> | — | <i>Concangio.</i> |
| 8. <i>Præfectus numeri Exploratorum</i> | — | <i>Lavatres,</i> |
| | <i>alias</i> | <i>RT.</i> |
| 9. <i>Præfectus numeri Directorum veterum</i> | | <i>Veneris.</i> |
| 10. <i>Præfectus numeri Defensorum</i> | — | <i>Braboniaco.</i> |
| 11. <i>Præfectus numeri Solensium</i> | — | <i>Maglova.</i> |
| 12. <i>Præfectus numeri Pacensium</i> | — | <i>Magis.</i> |
| 13. <i>Præfectus numeri Longovicariorum</i> | | <i>Longovico.</i> |
| 14. <i>Præfectus numeri Derventionensis</i> | | <i>Dervention.</i> |

Item per Lineam Valli.

- | | | |
|--|---|--------------------|
| 1. <i>Tribunus cohortis quartæ Lergorum</i> | | <i>Segeduno.</i> |
| 2. <i>Tribunus cohortis Cornoviorum</i> | — | <i>Ponte Ælii.</i> |
| 3. <i>Præfectus alæ primæ Astorum</i> | — | <i>Conderco.</i> |
| 4. <i>Tribunus cohortis primæ Frixagorum</i> | | <i>Vindobala.</i> |
| 5. <i>Præfectus alæ Savinianæ</i> | — | <i>Hunno.</i> |
| 6. <i>Præfectus alæ secundæ Astorum</i> | — | <i>Cilurno.</i> |
| 7. <i>Tribunus cohortis primæ Batavorum</i> | | <i>Procolitia.</i> |
| 8. <i>Tribunus cohortis primæ Tungrorum</i> | | <i>Borcovico.</i> |
| 9. <i>Tribunus cohortis quartæ Gallorum</i> | | <i>Vindolana.</i> |
| | | 10. <i>Tr.</i> |

0. *Tribunus cohortis primæ Astorum* — *Æsica.*
1. *Tribunus cohortis secundæ Dalmatarum* *Magnis.*
2. *Tribunus cohortis primæ Æliæ Dacorum* *Amboglanna.*
3. *Præfectus alæ Petrianæ* — *Petriania.*
4. *Præfectus numeri Maurorum Aureli-*
anorum } *Aballaba.*
5. *Tribunus cohortis secundæ Lergorum* *Congavata.*
6. *Tribunus cohortis primæ Hispanorum* *Axeloduno.*
7. *Tribunus cohortis secundæ Thracum* *Gabrosenti.*
8. *Tribunus cohortis primæ Æliæ Classicæ* *Tunnocello.*
9. *Tribunus cohortis primæ Morinorum* *Glannibanta.*
0. *Tribunus cohortis tertiæ Nerviorum* *Alione.*
1. *Cuneus Armaturarum* — — *Bremetenraco.*
2. *Præfectus alæ primæ Herculanæ* *Olenaco.*
3. *Tribunus cohortis sextæ Nerviorum* *Virofido.*

Under the Government of the Honourable the Duke of Britain.

1. The Prefect of the Sixth Legion.

2. The Prefect of the *Dalmatian Horse* } *Broughton, Lin-*
stationed at } *colnshire.*
3. The Prefect of the *Chrispian Horse* } *Doncaster.*
at }
4. The Prefect of a Body of *Cuirassiers* } *Templeburgh.*
at }
5. The Prefect of a Detachment of } *Moresby.*
the Barcarii Tigrisenses at }
6. The Prefect of a Detachment of } *Ambleside.*
the Nervii, called Dictenses at }
7. The Prefect of a Detachment of } *Kendal.*
Soldiers for the Watch at }
8. The Prefect of a Detachment of } *Bowes.*
Scouts at }
9. The Prefect of a Detachment styled } *Burgh.*
Directores at }
0. The Prefect of a Detachment call'd } *Overburgh.*
Defensores at }
1. The Prefect of a Detachment of } *Gretabridge.*
the Solenses at }
2. The Prefect of a Detachment of } *Piercebridge.*
the Pacenses at }
3. The Prefect of a Detachment of } *Langburg, near*
Longovicorii at } *Tadcaster.*
4. The Prefect of a Detachment styled } *Stainford-*
Derventionensis at } *burgh.*

Also along the Line of the Wall.

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------|
| 1. The Tribune of the fourth Cohort of the <i>Lergi</i> at | } | <i>Cousin's House,</i> |
| | | <i>Northumb.</i> |
| 2. The Tribune of a Cohort of the <i>Carnarii</i> at | } | <i>Newcastle.</i> |
| | | |
| 3. The Prefect of the first Wing of the <i>Asti</i> at | } | <i>Benwel-Hill.</i> |
| | | |
| 4. The Tribune of the first Cohort of the <i>Frixagi</i> at | } | <i>Rutcheffer.</i> |
| | | |
| 5. The Prefect of the Wing called <i>Saviniana</i> at | } | <i>Halon Chesters.</i> |
| | | |
| 6. The Prefect of the second Wing of the <i>Asti</i> at | } | <i>Walwick Chesters.</i> |
| | | |
| 7. The Tribune of the first Cohort of the <i>Batavi</i> at | } | <i>Carrawburgh.</i> |
| | | |
| 8. The Tribune of the first Cohort of the <i>Tungri</i> at | } | <i>House-steads,</i> |
| | | |
| 9. The Tribune of the fourth Cohort of the <i>Gauls</i> at | } | <i>Little Chesters.</i> |
| | | |
| 10. The Tribune of the first Cohort of the <i>Asti</i> at | } | <i>Great Chesters.</i> |
| | | |
| 11. The Tribune of the second Cohort of the <i>Dalmatians</i> at | } | <i>Carvoran.</i> |
| | | |
| 12. The Tribune of the first Cohort of <i>Dacians</i> , called <i>Ælia</i> , at | } | <i>Burdeswald.</i> |
| | | |
| 13. The Prefect of the Wing called <i>Petriana</i> at | } | <i>Cambeck-Fort.</i> |
| | | |
| 14. The Prefect of a Detachment of <i>Moors</i> , styled <i>Aureliani</i> , at | } | <i>Watch-Cress.</i> |
| | | |
| 15. The Tribune of the second Cohort of the <i>Lergi</i> at | } | <i>Stanwicks.</i> |
| | | |
| 16. The Tribune of the first Cohort of <i>Spaniards</i> at | } | <i>Burgh.</i> |
| | | |
| 17. The Tribune of the second Cohort of <i>Tbracians</i> at | } | <i>Drumburgh.</i> |
| | | |
| 18. The Tribune of the first Marine Cohort, styled <i>Ælia</i> , at | } | <i>Boulness.</i> |
| | | |
| 19. The Tribune of the first Cohort of the <i>Morini</i> at | } | <i>Lancaster.</i> |
| | | |
| 20. The Tribune of the third Cohort of the <i>Nervii</i> at | } | <i>Whitley Castle.</i> |
| | | |
| 21. A Body of Men in Armour at <i>Old Penrith</i> , or <i>Brampton</i> . | | |

22. The Prefect of the first Wing, call-
ed *Herculea*,
23. The Tribune of the sixth Cohort
of the *Nervii*, at
- } *Old Carlisle,*
Or
} *Elenburgh.*

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Dux hoc modo.

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Principem ex officiis ma- | 4. Adjutorem. |
| gistrorum militum præsen- | 5. Subadjuvam. |
| tialium alternis annis. | 6. Regerendarium. |
| 2. Commentariensem utrumque. | 7. Exceptores. |
| 3. Numerarios ex utrisque | 8. <i>Singulares et reliquos fa-</i> |
| officiis omni anno. | <i>miliares.</i> |

The same Honourable Duke has his Court made up of
the following Officers :

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. A principal Officer from | 3. Auditors yearly from |
| the Courts of the Gene- | both Courts. |
| erals of the Soldiers in or- | 4. An Adjutant. |
| inary Attendance, chan- | 5. A Sub-Adjutant. |
| ged yearly. | 6. A Register. |
| 2. Masters of the Prisons | 7. Clerks of Appeals. |
| from both. | 8. Serjeants and other Officers. |

It appears by this Abstract of the *Notitia*, that the Romans, some short Time before they quitted the Island, had drawn down all their Forces from the West and South-West to defend the Northern Borders against the *Picts* and *Scots*. This great Armament was chiefly stationed along the Line of the Wall, of which there were no less than 23 Cohorts, &c. placed to guard it; and allowing Sir *Henry Savile's* Calculation of the Number of a Legion to be just, that a Cohort consisted of 600 Foot, that Number multiplied by 23, makes 13,800; a vast Body of Men for that Purpose. By inspecting Mr. *Horsley's* Map, and his Draughts of this prodigious *Val- lum*, it will appear that the Garrisons on it were placed as thick as they could well stand, and must have been sufficient, both in Number and Strength, to stop any Attempts of the Barbarians against them.

The rest of the Forces in the Abstract, consisting of a whole Legion, and thirteen several Detachments of Horse and Foot, were stationed at *York*, and other Places circumjacent to the Capital, that, as Mr. *Horsley* justly observes,

observes, they might, upon any Emergency, be easily drawn together.

To give an Account of the several Remains of Antiquity which have been taken Notice of, or are still preserved amongst us, we shall range them in the Order of Time they were discovered.

Our celebrated Antiquary, *Camden*, was the first that led the Way; for though there must have been, in all Ages since the *Romans* left us, many of their Memorials found in this City, yet the barbarous or superstitious Ignorance of those Times either destroyed or defaced them.

It may seem strange, after what has been said before, that there is not at this Day many nobler Testimonies of *Roman* Grandeur to be seen among us, and that we shew no Ruins of Temples, Amphitheatres, Palaces, publick Baths, &c. whose Edifices must once have made *EBORACVM* shine almost as bright as *Rome* itself. The Wonder will cease in any one who reads the Sequel of this Story; such terrible Burnings and Devastations; such horrid Destruction of every Thing, sacred or profane, will be found in it, that it is rather Matter of Surprise, how it was possible this mutilated City could ever so much as raise its Head from those Heaps of Ashes and Ruins it has so often and so deeply been overwhelmed and buried in: For though the Temple of *Bellona* be long since removed from *York*, yet, in the rest of the intestine Troubles of *England*, this City has had so great a Share, has seen itself so often the Seat of War, that the Altar of the fire-eyed Goddess might have smoked with Human Gore for several Ages, after it and the Temples were erased from their first Foundations.

To our Christian Ancestors, the *Anglo-Saxons* and *Normans*, we likewise owe the defacing or demolishing of almost every *Roman* Altar, or Votive Monument, that were discovered in their Time. Being Zealots in their Persuasion, and utterly ignorant of their great Use in History, they took Care to eradicate all Marks of Paganism wherever they found them. For their own Conveniency they were obliged to make Use of the Ruins of the *Roman* Buildings in *York* to erect their Churches with; yet it is evident that whenever they met with an Inscription,

Inscription, like the *Turks* at present in *Greece*, they either buried it in the Foundation, turned it into the Wall, broke, or utterly obliterated it. Several Instances of this have been observed; and we are persuaded that whenever those Churches fall, or are pulled down to be rebuilt, many now-buried *Roman* Monuments and Inscriptions will see the Light; and it is hoped that succeeding Ages will have more Veneration for these Marks of Antiquity than the past.

All we have now to exhibit, is what the last Century turned out; and it is a Satisfaction to us to think, that Time may yet produce Materials for some abler Pens to raise this Subject to the Height it deserves.

We have said that Mr. *Camaen* was the first who took Notice of any *Roman* Antiquities or Inscriptions in *York*. That Author, after giving us the Reading of the Reverse of some of the Emperor *Severus's* Coins, which we shall have Occasion to mention in the Sequel, tells us of a memorable Inscription, which he says he saw in the House of a certain Alderman of that City. In his own and Continuator's *Britannia* it is published in this Manner:

M. VEREC. DIOGENES IIIII. VIR
COL. EBOR. IDEMQ. MORT. CIVES
BITVRIX. HÆC SIBI VIVVS FECIT.

Our Antiquary does not give us the Reading of this Inscription, nor inform us what it was upon, how, nor where it was found. Mr. *Burton*, in his *Commentary*, has aimed at the Reading of it. The Faults of the Quadrator, or Stone-Cutter, being amended, says that Author, as *ibidemque* for *idemque*, and *civis* for *cives*, the Inscription is easily read, and signifies no more than that *Marcus Verecundus Diogenes*, a Native of *Bury* in *Gascoigny*, Overseer of the Highways to the Colony at *York*, died there; who, while alive, made this Monument for himself.

Dr. *Gale*, on the *Itinerary*, has there given us a Draught of this Monument, which had been so little regarded at *York*, that in his Time he found it at *Hull*, where it then served as a Trough for watering Horses at an Inn. The learned Dean calls it *Theca*, which properly signifies any hollow Chest or other Convenience for

for putting Things in. He has likewise added four Letters more to the Inscription, which he saw upon the Stone, but are omitted by *Camden*. The Letters are CVBVS, and the Dean reads them *clarissimus vir bene vivens*.

Mr. *Horsley* took the Pains to search out this venerable Monument of Antiquity. He found it still at *Hull*, but removed to another Place, miserably broken and defaced. It has certainly been sepulchral, and was designed as a Repository of Urns for a whole Family; the Chief of which Family having taken Care to provide it in his Life-time, as the Inscription testifies. There have been some of these *Fbecæ* lately found in the Roman Burial-Place without *Bootham-Bar*, but no Inscriptions on them. Likewise several Graves for Urns, viz. square Places within Ground, covered at the Bottom with white Sand, on which the Urns were placed inverted, three, four, or more together. By the Letters and Numerals on the Stone, it appears plainly that Mr. *Burton* was mistaken in his reading of them. IIIII vir has six Numerals, and therefore he must be one of the six Judges of the Roman Colony at *York*: But who this Officer was, whether Civil or Military, is not so easy to determine. *Ursatus, in notis Romanorum*, has at least twenty different Interpretations of this single Abbreviation. It is commonly known that the Romans had their *Duumvir*, *Triumvir*, and so on to *Decemvir*, who were all Civil Officers; and as the Name of the Colony immediately follows this Title, our *Sevir* seems to have been one of the same Order in the Civil Government. The forecited Author has a Reading something parrallel to this, VI. VIR. SEN. ET AVG. C. DD. which he interprets *Sextumvir seniorum et augustalis coloniae dedicavit*. The CVBVS mentioned by Dean *Gale*, and said to be upon the Stone, is likewise confirmed by Mr. *Horsley*; tho' it is strange that Mr. *Camden* should miss it: But that Author observes, that our Antiquary used frequently to omit such Letters as were doubtful or unintelligible to him, tho' even yet sufficiently visible. The Quotations Mr. *Horsley* draws from *Pliny* and *Strabo*, settle his reading of CVBVS beyond Contradiction; for if the *Biturigies* were also called *Cubi*, as those Writers testify, it can bear no other. The Interpretation of the whole Inscription then

four
in the
are
bene
vene-
all at
oken
l was
nily;
ovide
There
e Ro
crip-
viz.
ottom
d in-
etters
t Mr.
I viz
f the
o this
sy to
least
re via-
their
were
mme-
been
The
lel to
rprets
The
on the
it is
uthor
t such
tho'
Jorsley
CVBVS
e also
ar no
then
is



2

I O M
 DIS DEABVS QVE
 HOSPITAL IBVS PE
 NATIBVS Q OB CON
 SERVATAM SALVTEM
 SVAM SVORVMQ
 P AEL MARCIAN
 VS PRÆF. COH
 ARM SAC. f. N. D

3



L:
 AEAN
 (SEC.
 NTEM
 I. ANTO
 ONVGI.

4

D M
 MINNE

5

GE NIO LOCI
 FELICITER

6



MVERECITOGENES IUD IVRCOL
 EBORIEDMOMORTOIVES DITVRIX
 CVBVSHAL SIBI VVVS FECIT

is this, that *Marcus Verecundus Diogenes*, a *Sevir*, or Magistrate, in the Colony at *York*, died there; he was originally a Native or Citizen of *Berri*; he made this Repository for his Family's Urns in his Life-time, and his Relations took Care to put his Name, Office, and Place of Extraction on it after his Death.

The Remains of this Monument are still at *Hull*, in the Place and Condition Mr. *Horsley* describes them.

To preserve the Memory of an Inscription, perhaps the only one extant, wherein the Name of *EBOR* is particularly put, we present the Reader with Mr. *Horsley's* Draught of it (*Fig. 1.*). The Size of the Chest is very large, being six Feet long and near three deep, and is of a Millstone-Gritt. The Chasm, through which the pricked Letters are carried, shews what is wanting of them at this Time.

The next remarkable *Roman* Monument was found under Ground, in digging the Foundation for a House on *Bishophill the Elder*, in the Year 1638. It was presented to King *Charles I.* when at *York*, in 1639, by the then Sir *Ferdinando Fairfax*, and was kept at the *Manner*. Afterwards Sir *Thomas Widrington* got it to his House in *Lendal-street*; from whence it was conveyed to the new House Lord *Thomas Fairfax* built on *Bishophill*, where it remained to the Desertion of that House by his Son-in-Law, the Duke of *Buckingham*. From that Time neither Dean *Gale* nor Mr. *Horsley* have been able to get the least Intelligence where it has been carried to. Dr. *Martin Lister*, a late celebrated Physician, Philosopher, and Antiquary, saw it at the Duke's House, and gave this Account of it to the Royal Society*. He said it was a small but elegant Altar, with Figures, in *Basso Relievo*, of sacrificing Instruments, &c. on the Sides of it. He adds, that it suffered an unlucky Accident by the stupid Ignorance of the Masons, who were ordered by the late Lord *Fairfax* to place it upon a Pedestal in the Court of his House at *York*; and observes, that this Altar is the only Instance he ever met with, of the *Romans* making Use of any other Stone than Gritt for them; yet says that this is not of the common Lime-Stone, or what is usually called Free-Stone, but of a certain Sort brought from the Quarries near *Malton*, because of the

Lapides

* *Ab. Philos. Transact. Vol. III.*

Lapides Judiaci to be seen in the Texture of it. It is Pity the Doctor did not preserve the Form of the Altar as well as the Inscription, since he commends it so much for its elegant Sculpture; but since that seems irretrievable, the Reader must be content with the Dedication, which, though printed several Times, we have been favoured with the most exact Copy of it yet published, taken from the Original by *Bryan Fairfax, Esq.*

The Inscription has the fewest Abbreviations in it that we ever met with; and, except the last Line, is obvious to any one that understands the *Latin Tongue*. This bears several Readings; *Mr. Horsley* gives it *Aram sacro faciendo noncupavit dedicavit*. *Mr. Ward*, in his Annotations published in the *Britannia Romana*, takes it to mean *Aram sacram factam nomine communi dedicavit*. *Ursatus*, who certainly had seen the like on other Altars abroad, reads it, *Numini conservatori dedicatum, vel dari jussit*. The *English* Version of the whole is this, To the great and mighty *Jupiter*, and to all Gods and Goddeses, Household and Peculiar Gods, *Publius Ælius Marcianus*, Prefect of a Cohort, for the Preservation of his own Health and that of his Family, dedicated this Altar to the great Preserver. *Fig. 2.*

Dr. Lister took Notice of another remarkable Inscription*, which he found in the South Wall of the Church of *All Saints* in *North-street*, an Account of which he likewise sent up to the Society. The Letters, says the Doctor, tho' a little defaced, are exceeding fairly cut, beyond any Thing of that Kind he had seen in *England*. The Inscription, adds he, has a Figure of a naked Woman on the Left Side of it, and is undoubtedly a Monument of conjugal Affection; but the Attempts to read it, both by the Doctor and *Mr. Horsley*, are frivolous, there being nothing to be understood from it except the last Word, which is very plain and apparent, *ONVGI*†. The Stone is put up in the Wall of the Church, so close to a Buttress that it was imagined half of the Inscription was hid by it, and therefore a Workman was employed to lay it open; but upon Search the Stone was found to be broke off in the Midst, to make Way for the Buttress to enter the Wall and bind it the firmer. For a further

Expli-

* *Ab. Philos. Transact. Vol. III.*

† *Mr. Drake*, in his *Eboracum*, calls it *CONVGI*.

is
ar
ch
e-
n,
fa-
ed,

nat
ous
his
cra
no-
to
vit.
tars
dari
the
fles,
nus,
own
F to

rip-
urch
he
the-
cut,
and.
Wo-
onu-
read
lous,
t the
GI +.
close
otion
oyed
ad to
ttrefa
rther
expli-





Application of this Fragment we refer the Reader to the draught of it, taken as it appears at present. *Fig. 3.*

Dr. Gale gives us another imperfect Inscription*, which in his Time was built up in a Wall without *Licklegate-Bar*, near the *Mount*. It is now lost, so that we have taken it from the Dean's Authority, but have no more to say of it, than that this seems also to have been sepulchral. *MINNA* being the Name of the Person deceased, the Name occurs in *Gruter*. † *Fig. 4.*

We are indebted to Dr. *Lister* likewise for a curious observation he made of the Basis of a multangular tower and some Length of a Wall, whose Manner of building with Brick and Stone evidently shews it to be Roman. The Description the Doctor gave of it to the Royal Society is as follows:

"Carefully viewing the Antiquities of York ‡, the dwelling of at least two of the Roman Emperors, *Severus* and *Constantius*, I found a Part of a Wall yet standing, which is undoubtedly of that Time. It is the South Wall of the *Mint-Yard*, formerly the Hospital of St. *Laurence* §; it consists of a multangular Tower, which would lead to *Bootham-Bar*, and about ——— of a Wall, which ran the Length of *Conyng-street*, as he who shall attentively view it on both Sides may discern.

"The Outside to the River is faced with a very small *exum quadratum* about four Inches thick, and laid in Levels like our modern Brick-Work; but the Length of the stones is not observed, but are as they fell out in hewing. From the Foundation twenty Courses of these small square Stones are laid, and over them five Courses of Roman Brick. These Bricks are laid some Length-ways, some End-ways in the Wall, and were called *Lares diatomi*; after these five Courses of Brick, other twenty-two Courses of small square Stones, as before described, are laid, which raise the Wall ——— Feet higher, and then five more Courses of the same Roman Bricks are laid ||; beyond which the Wall is imperfect, and capped with modern Building. Note, That in all this Height there

* *Anton. iter Britan.*

† *P. cldxxiv. n. 5.*

‡ Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions, v. 3.

§ A Mistake, it is St. *Leonard's*.

|| *Vitruvius* says, this Manner of Building with Brick and Stone is originally *African*.

there is no Casement or Loophole, but one entire uniform Wall, from which we may infer, that the Wall was built some Courses higher, after the same Order. The Bricks were to be as Thorougs, or, as it were, many new Foundations to that which was to be superstrusted, and to bind the two Sides together firmly; the Wall itself is only faced with small square Stone, and the Middle thereof filled with Mortar and Pebble.

“ These Bricks are about seventeen Inches long, our Measure, about eleven Inches broad, and two and an half thick. This, having caused several to be carefully measured, I give in round Numbers, and do find them to agree very well with the *Roman Foot*, which the learned Antiquary *Groves* has left us, viz. of its being about half an Inch less than ours. They seem to have shrunk in the Baking more in the Breadth than in the Length, which is but reasonable, because of its easily yielding that Way, and so for the same Reason more in Thickness; for we suppose them to have been designed in the Mold for three *Roman Inches*. This demonstrates *Pliny's Measures* to be true, where he says, *Genera rerum tria, didoron, quo utimur longum sesquipede, latius bipede*, and not those of *Vitruvius* where they are extended the Copy of *Vitruvius*, where it describes the *Didoron* and its Measures, being vicious. And indeed all I have yet seen with us in *England*, are of *Pliny's Measure*, at *Leicester* in the *Roman Ruin* there, called the *Jew Wall*, and at *St. Albans*, as I remember, as well as at us at *York*.

“ I shall only add this Remark, That Proportion and Uniformity, even in the minutest Parts of Building, to be plainly observed, as this miserable Ruin of *Rome* Workmanship shews. In our *Gothick Buildings* there is a total Neglect of Measure and Proportion of the Courses, as though that was not much material to the Beauty of the whole; whereas, indeed, in Nature's Works, it is from the Symmetry of the very Grain whence arises much of the Beauty.”

It must be observed on this particular Description of the Doctor, That the Stones of the Wall are not of the Gritt Kind, but of the common Free-Stone, there being no Occasion to fear Fire in an exterior Part of a Fortification. Next, that the Building of the Tower is the

me on the Inside of it as on the Out, and has a Communication with *Bootham-Bar*, under the *Vallum* or Rampart that hides it that Way. The Foundation of this Tower is of a singular Shape and Strength, the Angle commands requiring the latter in an extraordinary degree, and the Form of it comes the nearest a Circle that any such Building can admit of. The Wall that runs from it South-East makes a straight Line, and, no doubt, anciently went along the East Side of *Conyng-street*, as far as the *Foss**, the Foundations of all the Houses in the Line discovering the Marks of it. A Piece of it was about fifty Years ago laid open, by digging a Drain in *Lendale*, about twenty or thirty Yards below the *Mint-Yard* Gates; the Cement that composed this Fragment was so exceeding hard, that the Workmen had much ado to lower it to their Level. In their Way they threw up a small *Denarius* or two, but they were obliterated.

In *March, 1770*, the Workmen digging a Drain from the *York Tavern*, then erecting in *St. Helen's Square*, to the Common-Hall Lane, at about seven Feet and a Half below the Surface of the present Pavement, came to three Walls, leading from N. E. by N. to S. W. by S. The Breadth of the Wall next to *Lendale* was nine Feet six Inches, and the other two eleven Feet six Inches each. They were composed of large Cobbles, so strongly cemented that no Tools could separate them, till large Fires were made upon them in order to burn the Cement, and even then it was with the greatest Difficulty that they got near two Feet cut off them with Iron Wedges, but their Depth is not known. The Space betwixt each Wall is three Feet and a Half, filled with Clay that seemed to have been tempered and close rammed.

Since the Time of *Dr. Lister*, a Stone, with an Inscription upon it, was discovered in digging a Cellar in *Conyng-street*, in the Line of the *Roman* Wall aforesaid. The Stone is of Gritt, the Letters large, and soon after the finding was placed in the Back-yard Wall of Mrs.

VOL. I.

F

Crump-

* See the Plan of the City, where a Line is drawn from this Tower along *Conyng-street* and *Castlegate* to the *Foss*, to make, as we imagine, an interior Fortification to the City. *Clifford's Tower*, whose Mount is certainly *Roman*, commands one End of it.

Crumpton's House, below the *Black-Swan Inn* in that Street, from whence it has been removed, and is now deposited in the Record-Chamber at the Guildhall in this City. Our Countryman, and late diligent Antiquary, Mr. *Thoresby*, of *Leeds*, gave the Royal Society an Account of it in these Words: †

“The *Roman Monument*, lately discovered at *York*, was found not far from the *Roman Wall* and multangular Tower, which Dr. *Lister* has given so curious a Description of. This Monument, dedicated to the *Genius*, or tutelar Deity of the Place, is not of the coarse Rag that the Generality of the *Roman Altars* are, but of a finer Gritt, like that at my Lord *Fairfax's House* in *York*. It is twenty-one Inches long and eleven broad, and is inscribed *Genio loci feliciter*. (Fig. 5.) There was a larger Stone found with it, but without any Inscription; nor is there upon any of them the Representation of a Serpent or a young Visage; by both which the Ancients sometimes described these *Dii Topici*. If the Name had been added, it would have gratified the Curiosity of some of our *neoteric* Antiquaries; but they must yet acquiesce, for ought I know, in their old *Dvi*, who is said to be the tutelar Deity of the City of the *Brigantes*.

“The Author of this votive Monument seems to have the same superstitious Veneration for the *Genius* of *York*, as those at *Rome* had for theirs, whose Name they were prohibited to mention or inquire after. Hence it is, that upon their Coins the Name of this Deity is never expressed, but in a more popular Manner by *GENIVS P. R.* or *POP. ROM.*

The Dedication of this votive Tablet, for its Shape will not admit of an Altar, is most certainly a great Compliment paid to our City; and *Rome* itself could not have had a greater in its fullest Glory. It is well known that the superstitious *Romans* believed a good and a bad *Genius* did attend both Persons, Cities, and Countries: Hence *Virgil*, at *Æneas's Entrance into Italy*,

—— geniumque loci primamque deorum
Tellurem, &c.

But

† Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions, v. 5.

‡ This is an old Building on *Bishopbill*, now in Ruins.

But the greatest and most remarkable Discovery that we have yet made, happened about the Year 1686. The Honour of being the first Observator of this, as well as the next, is due to the Memory of Mr. *Thoresby*. He sent an Account of them to the Royal Society, which was afterwards published in their Transactions. The foresaid Writer has been a little more explicit about these venerable Reliques in his *Ducatus Leodisensis*, and we shall make Use of his own Words from thence. *

“The sepulchral Monument of the Standard-Bearer of the ninth Legion was dug up in *Trinity-Gardens*, near *Micklegate, York*, and was happily rescued by *Bryan Fairfax, Esq*; from the brutish Workmen, who had broke it in the Midst, and were going to make Use of it for two Throughs, as they call them, to bind a Wall; but, by that worthy Gentleman’s Direction, it was wall’d upright with the Inscription and Effigies to the Front, and is since removed to the Gardens of Sir *Henry Goodricke*, at *Ribston*.—The Brick had been several Times made Use of, with broken Stones and Brick-Bats, by *Mr. Smith*, in making Molds for casting Bells. Upon my Enquiry after Inscriptions in that ancient City, he collected, himself that he had seen some old Letters, but thought the Brick was lost, though upon Search we found the Piece, which is inscribed *LEGIO IX. VIC.* (Fig. 6.) This is also an Argument of the Peace those parts enjoyed at that Time, which I take to be the latter End of *Severus’s* Reign; making of Bricks, and raising up Highways, being the usual Employment for soldiers at such Vacancies.”

Mr. Horsley has given us the following Account of this Inscription, and its History. †

“This very curious and remarkable Inscription was first discovered in *Trinity-Yard* in *Micklegate*, and is now at *Ribston*, near *Wetherby*, being carefully preserved under cover in a Garden belonging to Sir *Henry Goodricke*, who knows how to set a just Value on this curious Piece of antiquity. It has been communicated to the Publick, by *Mr. Thoresby* in the *Philosophical Transactions*; and from thence it has been inserted in the late Edition of *Camden’s Britannia*, but ill represented as to the Shape and

F 2

* *Thoresby’s Ducatus Leodisensis*, p. 320.

† *Horsley’s Brit. Rom.* f. viii. *Yorkshire*, p. 308.

64 The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES

and Cut of the Letters. Dr. Gale, in his Edition of *Antonini Itinerarium*, has done it more Justice; for the Letters are well cut, strong and clear, and all of them yet very legible; particularly the LEGIO VIII. at the End of the fourth Line, is distinct and certain, which is the great Curiosity of the Inscription. The principal Difficulty, in respect to the Reading, is in the Beginning of the second Line. Mr. Thoresby, who gives us no Part of the Inscription but the last Line and this, would have it to be *lubens voluit*, which is neither agreeable to the Letters themselves, or the Situation of them, nor at all consistent with the obvious Sense of the rest of the Inscription. Upon Sight of the Original I was soon convinced these Letters were LVOLTF, the last three, LTF, being all connected together; and they must, I think, be read *Lucii voltinia [tribu] filius*; so that it expresses the Father's Tribe, tho' the Son was of *Vienna* in Gaul, which was a famous Roman Colony. *Provincia Viennensis* was one of the seventeen Provinces of Gaul, which were under the *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*. This *Tribus Voltinia* is likewise mentioned upon another Inscription * in Cumberland. It may seem strange, perhaps, that the F for *Filius* should be joined in the same Character that includes two Letters of the preceding Words; but we have an Instance of the like Kind on another Inscription at Great Salkeld in Cumberland, where the same Cypher includes two Letters belonging to two different Words †. The Flourish annexed to the Foot of the first N in the third Line, is somewhat peculiar, but very distinct. The Word *Rufinus* occurs in another of our Inscriptions ‡. The rest has no Difficulty; and as for the *Legio Nona*, I have given a full Account of it in the History of the Roman Legions in Britain. The Figure of this *Signifer* is placed above the Inscription with his *Vexillum* in one Hand, or the *Signum* of a Cohort, according to Mr. Ward, whose Conjecture I shall add, and a Thing like a Basket in the other. There is somewhat of much the same Appearance in the Hand of a Soldier upon a Funeral Stone at Skirway in Scotland. This may possibly represent the Vessel for holding or measuring of Corn, which was Part of a Roman Soldier's Pay." What our Author adds from Mr. Ward is this

* N^o. LXIII. † N^o. LI. ‡ N^o. XCVI. Northumberland.



BRITISH MUSEUM
LIBRARY
NO. 271
1841
H. 2. E.



"I am inclined to think what the Image holds in his Right Hand, is the Ensign of a *Cohort* or *Manipulus*. It seems very possible, from a Passage in *Cæsar*, that every *Cohort* had its peculiar Ensign; his Words are these*, *Quartæ cohortis omnibus fere centurionibus occisis, signifer interfecto, signo amisso, &c.* Now, in all the Legionary Coins of *Mark Anthony*, the Eagle is placed between two such Ensigns as this Image holds in his Right Hand. As the Eagle therefore was the Standard of the whole Legion, one would be led to think these were designed to represent the Ensigns of the *Cohorts*, at next in Order. But since some very learned Men have thought them rather the Ensigns of the *Manipuli*, I would leave every one to judge of them as he pleases. What the Image holds in his Left Hand, I take to be the *Parillum* of a Century. The Form of the *Parillum* seems, I think, to favour this Opinion; for it was four-angled, as appears by a Draught of it given above."

We have nothing to add after this particular Description of the Monument by these Antiquaries, but to present the Reader with a Draught of it (Fig. 7.). It was taken by Scale; so that the Figure of the whole, the Figure, and the Letters, are all to scale. On the Death of Sir *Henry Goddricke*, this Monument was purchased by the late *Henry Falsgrave*, Esq. and now lies in a Cellar at *Toultston-Hall*, from whence he could wish to have it removed back to *York*, to be deposited in some safe Place, as a lasting Monument of his ancient Glory.

It is very extraordinary that a noble *Roman Arch*, yet standing in a principal Gate of the City, should have escaped the Notice of all the curious Observers of Antiquity, till of late Years discovered by our own Antiquary Mr. *Drake*. It is the chief Arch in *Micklegate-Bar*, by the Port-Cullis, wholly built of Millstone-Gritt, and a true Segment of a Circle. The Arch is a Triplit, and supports a massy Pile of *Gothick Towers*, &c. which no Doubt have been frequently renewed upon it, since the strong Foundation was built by those admirable Architects the *Romans*. It seems yet to bid Defiance to Time, though probably erected 1500 Years ago, and when its Foundations come to be razed some Ages hence, perhaps

F 3

some

* *De Bello Gallico*, l. II. c. 15. † *Northumberland*, No. LX.

some Stone in the Building will be found to bear an Inscription sufficient to denote its Antiquity, and be another Testimony of the Glory of the once-famous *Eboracvm*. As it is at this Day we present the Reader with a View of it; here and there a Stone of another Kind is put in where the old ones have failed; but that does not alter the Symmetry and Proportion of the Arch. The Gate faces the grand Road to *Calcaria*, or *Tadcaster*, and is placed near the Centre of the *Vallum* and Wall which fortifies this Part of the City. At a good Bowshot from it is a Place called the *Mount*, which is said to have been thrown up in the late Civil Wars; but it appears to be of much greater Antiquity, and seems to have been an Outwork, or *Roman* Fortrefs, erected for the greater Security of this Land-Side of the City, if we may so call it.

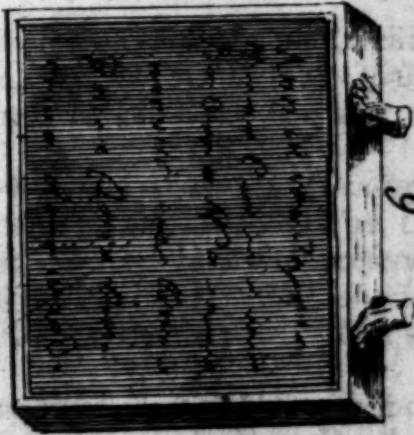
On the Church-Yard Wall of *St. Laurence*, extra *Walmgate*, lie two very ancient Statues, prostrate; (*Fig. 8.*) but whether *Roman* or *Saxon*, *Pagan* or *Christian*, is not easy to determine*, though the Head which is stuck in the Wall underneath these Statues is certainly *Roman*, both from the Gritt and Sculpture that in Age demonstrates. In *Trinity-Yard*, *Micklegate*, is a Base, which has two Feet of a Statue upon it (*Fig. 9.*) and on it has been a large Inscription, but obliterated, not by Time, as supposed, but Malice or Ignorance, or the mistaken Zeal of our Christian Ancestors. There are other two (*Fig. 10, 11*) which we submit to the Reader's Judgment.

The next Thing we shall take Notice of, in Relation to the *Romans*, is the Quantity of their *Coins*, *Signets*, *Fibulae*, *Urns*, *Sarcophagi*, &c. which have been found with us. As to the *Coins*, though no Doubt every Age, since their Time, has discovered many, yet an Accident in the last has thrown out more than could be seen without it. This has happened by the Quantity of Ground dug up for Gardens in and about the City of late Years; but then, though several by this Means are found, yet we may presume that many more are destroyed by it.

* Dr. Gale supposed them to be Statues of a *Roman* Senator and his Lady; but the Form of the Beard on one of them is a strong Argument against that Supposition.



8



6



10



11

Page 68



The Loads of Manure which the Gardiners use to enrich the Soil to their Purpose, has, by its nitrous Quality, perfectly dissolved all those which Time had any way eroded before-hand.

About the Year 1731 a Gold *Crispus* was taken up in a Garden next to the House now inhabited by Mrs. Condon, without *Bootham-Bar*. The Coin is well preserved, and being placed amongst the *Rarissimi* by the Collectors, it was thought fit to exhibit a Draught of it. *Fig. 12.*

The following Catalogue of *Roman* Coins found at *York*, and now in the Possession of the Rev. Dr. *Langwith*, justly claims a Place in this History; for notwithstanding there are not many of the *Rarissimi*, or even *Rariores*, in it, yet we may venture to say that there is not in the Universe such another Collection of *Roman* Coin found in one City, except *Rome*, and all in one Man's Hands.

AUGUSTUS.

- Ar. 1. Augustus Divi F.
Rev. C. Caesar Auguf. F.
Figura equestris cum tribus signis mi.

AGRIPPA.

- AE. 2. Agrippa L. F. Cos. III.
Rev. S. C.
Neptunus stans, dextra delphinum, sinistra tridentem.

TIBERIUS.

- Ar. 3. Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F.
Rev. Pontif. Maxim.
Figura sedens, dextra hastam, sinistra ramum tenens.

GERMANICUS.

- AE. 4. Germanicus Caesar Ti. Auguf. F. Divi Aug. N.
Rev. SC. C. Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pon. M.
Tr. Pot.

CALIGULA.

- AE. 5. C. Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pont. M. Tr. P.
Rev. Vesta S. C.
Vesta sedens, dextrâ pateram.

CLAUDIUS.

- AE. 6. T. Claudius Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Imp.
Rev. Spes Augusta.
Spei Typus.

NERO.

NERO.

- Ar. 7. Nero Caesar Aug.
Rev. Juppiter Custos.
Jupiter sedens, dextrâ fulmen, sinistrâ hastam.
- AE. 8. Nero Claud. Caesar Aug. Germanicus.
Rev. Certâ. Quinq. Romae Conf. S. C.
Mensa in qua Corolla et Olla.

OTHO.

- Ar. 9. Imp. M. Otho Caesar Aug. Tr. P.
Rev. Pax Orbis Terrarum.
Figura stans, dextra ramum, sinistra caduceum.

VITELLIUS.

- Ar. 10. A. Vitellius Germ. Imp. Aug. Tr. P.
Rev. Libertas Restituta.
Figura stolata, dextra pilum, sinistra hastam.

VESPASIANUS.

- Ar. 11. Imp. Caesar Vesp. Aug.
Rev. Cos. V. inter duas laurus.
- Ar. 12. Imp. Caes. Vesp. Aug. P. M. Cos. III. Cens.
Rev. Fides publ.
Duae dextrae junctae, cum caduceo, papaveribus et spicis duabus.
- Ar. 13. Imp. Caes. Vesp. Cens.
Rev. Salus Aug.
Figura sedens, dextrâ pateram tenens.
- Ar. 14. Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Aug. Tr. P.
Rev. Titus et Domitian. Caesares Prin. Juvent.
Duae figurae togatae sedentes, dextris ramos lauri.
- Ar. 15. Divus Augustus Vespasianus.
Rev. Ex. S. C.
Duo lauri: In medio columna cum clypeo in quo S. C.
- AE. 16. Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Cos. III.
Rev. Provident. S. C.
Ara.

TITUS.

- Ar. 17. T. Caesar Imp. Vespasianus.
Rev. Jovis Custos.
Figura stans, dextram supra aram protendens, sinistrâ hastam tenens.
18. T. Caesar Imp. Vespasianus.
Rev. Cos. VI.
Bos et Vacca cum Aratro.

19. T. Caesar Imp. Vespasianus.

Rev. Tr. Pot. VIII. Cof. VII.

Quadriga triumphalis e quâ flos erumpit.

DOMITIANUS.

Ar. 20. Imp. Caef. Domit. Aug. Germ. P. M. TR. P. V.

Rev. Imp. XIII. Cof. XI. Cenf. P. P. P.

Pallas, dextrâ fulmen, finiftrâ clypeum.

Ar. 21. . . . Pallas cum noctuâ.

AE. 22. Imp. Caef. Domit. Aug. Germ. Cof. XII.

Cenf. Perp. P. P.

Rev. Fortuna Augufti S. C.

Fortuna ftans, dextra temonem navis, finiftra Cornucopiae.

AE. 23. Imp. Caef. Domit. Aug. Germ. Cof. XIII.

Cenf. Perp. P. P.

Rev. Virtuti Augufti.

Figura galeata ftans, dextra haftam, finiftra Parazonium, finiftro pede globum calcans.

TRAJANUS.

Ar. 24. Imp. Caef. Nerva Trajan. Aug. Germ.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. Cof. III. P. P.

Victoria ftans, dextra fertum, finiftra Palmam.

25. Imp. Trajano Aug. P. M. TR. P.

Rev. Cof. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. optimo Principi.

Victoria, dextra fertum, finiftra haftam.

26. . . . It. *Figura ftans, dextra bilancem, finiftra cornucopiae.*

27. Imp. Caef. Ner. Trajano optimo Aug. Ger. Dac.

Rev. P. M. Tr. P. Cof. VI. PP. S. P. Q. R.

Fort. Red.

Figura fedens, dextra temonem navis, finiftra cornucopiae.

28. Imp. Caef. Nervae Trajano Aug. Ger. Dac.

Parth.

Rev. Cof. VI. MO Prin.

Figura ftans, dextra ramum, finiftra parazonium, ad pedes struthio.

HADRIANUS.

Ar. 29. Hadrianus Auguftus P. P.

Rev. Cof. III.

Figura ftans, dextra bilancem, finiftra cornucopiae.

30. Hadri-

30. Hadrianus Auguf.

Rev. Cof. III.*Figura militaris ftans, dextra victoriolam, finiftra
hauftam.*

SABINA Hadriani uxor.

31. Sabina Augufta Hadriani Aug. PP.

Rev. Pudicitia.*Pudicitiae ftantis typus.*

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Ar. 32. Antoninus Auguftus P. P. Tr. P. Cof. III.*Rev.* Aequitas Aug.*Figura ftans, dextra bilancem, finiftra hauftam.**AE.* Antoninus Aug. Pius.*Rev.* Britanniae33. Britannia rupibus infidens, dextra fignum militare,
finiftra

FAUSTINA.

Ar. 34. Diva Faufina.*Rev.* *Figura ftans, dextra pomum ferens,
finiftra velum levans circa caput.*35. *Rev.* Augufta.*Figura ftans, dextra hauftam.*

M. AURELIUS.

Ar. 36. Aurelius Caefar. Anton. Aug. Pii F.*Rev.* Tr. P. XI. Cof. II.*Figura militaris dextra hauftam, finiftra para-
zonium.*

37. M. Antoninus Aug. Tr. P. XXIX. Cof. III.

*Figura fedens, dextra pateram, finiftra cornu-
copiae.*

COMMODUS.

Ar. 38. M. Comm. Ant. P. Fel. Aug. Brit.*Rev.* P. M. Tr. P. XIII. Imp. VIII. Cof. V. P. P.*Figura nuda ftans, dextra pateram, finiftra fpicas.**Ar.* 39. M. Comm. Ant. P. Fel. Aug. Brit. P. P.*Rev.* Min. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. XVI. Cof. VI.

MINERVA.

SEVERUS.

Ar. 40. Severus Pius Aug.*Rev.* Fundator Pacis.*Imperator fac. cultu capite velato, olivae ramum
dextra.**Ar.* 41.

- Ar. 41. L. Sep. Sev. Pert. Aug. Imp. IX.
 Rev. Providentia Aug.
*Figura stolata dextram protendens supra globum,
 sinistra hastam gerens.*
 JULIA DOMNA Severi uxor.
- Ar. 42. Julia Augusta.
 Rev. Diana Lucifera.
- Ar. 43. . . . Rev. *Figura stans, dextra pateram,
 sinistra hastam puram.*
 CARACALLA.
- Ar. 44. Imp. Antoninus Pius Aug.
 Rev. Securitas saeculi.
*Figura sedens dextram capiti admoventis, sinistra
 sceptrum gerens.*
45. Antoninus Aug. Brit.
 Rev. P. M. Tr. P. XVI. Cos. III. P. P.
*Hercules nudus, dextra ramum, sinistra spolia
 leonis cum clava.*
 GETA.
- Ar. 46. P. Sept. Geta Pont.
 Rev. Princ. Juventutis.
*Caesar paludatus stans, dextra ramum, sinistra
 hastam, cum tropaeo a tergo.*
47. *Figura stans, dextra ramum, sinistra
 hastam.*
 ELAGABALUS.
- Ar. 48. Imp. Antoninus Pius Aug.
 Rev. P. M. Tr. P. III. Cos. III. P. P.
Solis typus, cum stella.
 JULIA MAESA avia Elagab.
- Ar. 49. Julia Maesa Aug.
 Rev. Saeculi Felicitas.
*Figura stolata stans, dextra pateram, sinistra
 hastam cum caduceo. A tergo stella.*
 JULIA PAULA Elagabali uxor.
- Ar. 50. Julia Paula Aug.
 Rev. Concordia.
Figura sedens, dextra pateram. A fronte stella.
 JULIA AQUILIA SEVERA altera Elagabali uxor.
- Ar. 51. Julia Aquilia Severa.
 Rev. Provid. Deorum.
Providentiae typus.

72 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

JULIA SOAEMIAS Elagabali mater.

Ar. 52. Julia Soaemias Aug.

Rev. Venus coelestis.

Venus sedens, dextra pomum, sinistra hastam puram. A tergo stella.

M. AURELIUS SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

Ar. 53. Imp. C. M. Sev. Alexand. Aug.

Rev. Libertas Aug.

Foemina stolata, dextra pileum, sinistra hastam puram.

It.

54. Rev. P. M. Tr. P. II. Cof. P. P.

Figura stans, dextra ramum, sinistra hastam puram.

It.

55. Rev. P. M. Tr. P. VI. Cof. II. P. P.

It.

56. Rev. Salus Publica.

Salus sedens, dextra pateram serpenti porrigens.

JULIA MAMMAEA Alexandri mater.

Ar. 57. Julia Mamaea Aug.

Rev. Vesta.

Figura velata stans, dextra palladium, sinistra hastam puram.

SAL. BARBIA ORBIANA Alexandri uxor.

Ar. 58. Sall. Barbiana Orbiana Aug.

Rev. Felicitas Publica.

Figura stans, dextra caduceum gerens, sinistra nixa columnae.

MAXIMINUS.

Ar. 59. Maximinus Pius Aug. Germ.

Rev. Fides Militum.

Figura stans, utraque manu tenens signum militare.

GORDIANUS III.

Ar. 60. Imp. Gordianus Pius Fel. Aug.

Rev. Virtuti Augusti.

Hercules cum leonis exuviis et clava.

61. It.

Rev. Laetitia Aug. N.

Figura muliebris stans, dextra sertum, sinistra anchoram.

MARCUS JULIUS PHILIPPUS ARAB.

Ar. 62. Imp. Philippus Aug.

Rev. Securitas Perp. . . .

Cty

OTACILIA SEVERA Philippi uxor.

- Ar. 63. Marcia Otacil. Severa Aug.
 Rev. Concordia Aug. g. S. C.
Figura sedens, dextra pateram, sinistra cornu-
copiae.

TRAJANUS DECIUS.

- Ar. 64. Imp. Trajanus Decius Aug.
 Rev. Dacia.
Figura stans, dextra baculum cum capite equino.

TREBONIANUS GALLUS.

- Ar. 65. Imp. Cae. C. Vib. Treb. Gallus.
 Rev. Apoll. Salutari.
Apollo, dextra ramum lauri, sinistra citbaram.

VOLUSIANUS.

Rev. Concordia Augg.

VALERIANUS.

66. Imp. C. P. Lic. Valerianus Aug.
 Rev. Apollini Conserva.
Apollo stans, dextra ramum, sinistra citbaram.

GALLIENUS.

- AE. 67. Gallienus Aug.
 Rev. Pax publica.

68. Rev. Provid. Aug.

69. Rev. Virtus Aug.

70. Rev. Dianae. Conf.

Diana cum venabulo et arcu, ad pedes animal cer-
vini generis.

71. Rev. Soli Conf. Aug.
Pegasus.

72. Rev. Apollini Conf. Aug.
Centaurus, dextra globum.

73. Rev. Neptuno Conf. Aug.
Hippopotamus, al. Hippocampus.

74. Jovi Conf. Capra.

SALONINA.

- AE. 75. Salonina Aug.
 Rev. Juno Conservat.

76. Venus victrix.

Venus, dextra galeam, sinistra hastam cum clypeo.

POSTUMUS SEN. GALBIAE TYRANNUS.

77. Imp. C. Postumus Pius F. Aug.
 Rev. Victoria Aug.

VICTORINUS.

AE. 77. Imp. C. Victorinus.
Rev. Providentia Aug.

78. Rev. Pax Augusti.

79. Rev. Inviſtus.

Solis typus.

80. Rev. Pietas Aug.

81. Rev. Hilaritas Aug.

82. Rev. Victoria Aug.

TETRICUS.

AE. 83. Imp. C. Tetricus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Spes publica.

84. Rev. Laetitia Aug. n.

Laetitia, dextra ſertum, ſiniſtra anchoram.

85. ... Salus Augg.

Salutis typus.

TETRICUS, jun.

AE. 86. C. P. E. Tetricus Caef.

Rev. Pietas Augg.

Vaſa pontificalia.

87. Spes.

C. PIVESU TETRICUS.

88. Rev. Spes Augg.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

AE. 89. Imp. C. Claudius Aug.

.... Rev. Aequitas Aug.

.... Rev. Felicitas Aug.

QUINTILLUS.

AE. 90. Imp. C. M. Aur. Cl. Quintillus Aug.

Rev. Pax Auguſti.

CARINUS.

AE. 91. Imp. Carinus P. F. Aug.

Rev. Felicit. Publica.

DIOCLETIANUS.

Imp. C. C. Val. Diocletianus P. F. Aug.

92. Rev. Jovi Conſer. Augg.

TYRANNI ſub DIOCLETIANO.

1. AELIANUS.

AE. 93. C. L. Aelianus P. F. Aug.

Rev. Victoria Aug.

Victoriae typus.

2. CARAUSIUS.

2. CARAUSIUS.

- E. 94. Imp. Carausius P. F. Aug.
Rev. Pax Aug.

3. ALLECTUS.

- E. 95. Imp. Cae. Allectus P. F. Aug. . . .
Rev. Laetitia Aug.
96. . . . Providentia Aug.

CONSTANTIUS.

- E. 97. Constantius Nobil. Caesar.
Rev. Genio Populi Romani.

FLAVIA HELENA.

- E. 98. . . . Helena Augusta.
Rev. Securitas Reipublicae.

FLAVIA THEODORA.

- E. 99. Theodora Aug.
Rev. Pietas Romana.
Mulier stans cum puerulo lactente.

MAXIMIANUS.

- E. 100. Imp. Maximianus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Genio Populi Romani.

MAXIMINUS.

- E. 101. Imp. Maximinus Aug.
Rev. Genio Pop. Rom.
*Genius stans, dextra pateram, sinistra cornu-
copiae, a tergo stella P. L. N.*

LICINIUS.

- E. 102. Imp. Licinius P. F. Aug.
Rev. Genio Pop. Rom.

CONSTANTINUS M.

- E. 103. Constantinus P. F. Aug.
Rev. Comiti Augg. N. N. P. L. N.
Sol gradiens.

104. . . . Soli invicto Comiti. P. T. R.
Sol.

105. Constantinus Aug.
Rev. D. N. Constantini Max. Aug. S. T. *
Sertum in quo. vot. XX.

106. . . . Sarmatia devicta.
Victoria gradiens ad cujus pedes captivus.

107. Divo Constantino . . .
Rev. Pietas.
*Figura militaris stans, dextra hastam sinistra
globum.*

76 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

108. Rev. Quadrigae.

CONSTANTINUS, jun.

AE. 109. J. Constantinus jun. Nob. C.

Rev. Caesarum Nostrorum Vot. X, T. R.

110. . . . Dominor. nostror. Caes. Vot. X.

111. . . . Providentiae Caes. P. Lon.

Arx. vel forte horrea publica.

CONSTANS.

AE. 112. D. N. Constans P. F. Aug.

Fel. Temp. Reparatio.

*Figura militaris stans in navi, dextra victoriae
lam, sinistra labarum. Victoria navem
bernat.*

113. Rev. Eadem epigraphē.

Phoenix radiatus monti vel fortasse rogo insistent.

113. It. Phoenix globo insistent.

114. It. Imp. manu globum gerens.

115. It. *Figura militaris, sinistra hastam tenens, dex-
tra parvulum ex antro, vel pergula ducens.*

CONSTANTIUS.

116. D. N. Constantius P. F. Aug.

Rev. Fel. Temp. Reparatio.

*Figura militaris in navi, dextra globum
Phoenice, sinistra labarum in quo
pedes victoria navim gubernans.*

MAGNENTIUS.

AE. 117. D. N. Magnentius P. F. Aug.

Rev. Salus D. D. N. N. et Caes. A *X*.

118. Victoria D. D. N. N. Augg. et Caes.

*Duae victoriae clypeum tenentes in quo Vot. V
mult. X.*

JULIANUS.

Ar. 119. D. N. Fl. Cl. Julianus P. F. Aug.

Rev. Vot. X. Mult. XX. P. Const.

AE. Rev. Votis X. mult. XX. Herach. a.

VALENTINIANUS.

AE. 120. Valentinianus P. F. Aug.

Rev. Gloria Romanorum.

*Figura mil. dextra captivum crinibus trabens
sinistra labarum tenens.*

121. D. N. Valentinianus P. F. Aug.

Rev. Securitas Reipublicae. S--SIS.

VALENTINIANUS.

VALENS.

- AE. 122. D. N. Valens P. F. Aug.
Rev. Securitas Reipublicae OF. I.
Victoria gradiens, dextra sertum, sinistra palmam.
 123. *Rev. Gloria Romanorum OF. II.*
Miles sinistra labarum tenens, dextra captivum
prostrernens.

GRATIANUS.

- AE. 124. D. N. Gratianus Augg. Aug.
Gloria Novi Saeculi OF. III. Con.
Figura militaris stans, dextra labarum cum
Monogrammate , sinistra clypeum.

The Coins of the Emperor Severus, which Camden speaks of, and says are inscribed on the Reverse CO. EBORACVM LEGIO VI VICTRIX*, greatly illustrates our present Subject. He does not name his Authority for this Assertion, nor does he say that he ever saw the Coin. But, in Dean Gale's *Itinerary*, Goltzius is quoted in the Margin as the Author from whence Mr. Camden might take it, and it is very probable he did so. That learned German Antiquary, in his *Thesaurus Rei Antiquariae*, C. xviii. *Coloniarum, Municipiorumque Romanorum Nomina et Epitheta*, p. 239, gives the Reading of the Reverse of one of the Emperor Severus's Coins as Mr. Camden has expressed it.

The Coins mentioned by Mediobarbus and Vaillant to be struck in Honour of Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, which have on their Reverse VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE, & CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM, were in all Probability struck at York; for the former was stamped in Honour of his Caledonian Expedition, after his Return to our City, as the latter bear Testimony of the Reconcilement which he supposed he had made, a little before his Death, betwixt his two Sons. So the Title of BRITANNICVS MAXIMVS, which he certainly assumed at York, as Lord of the whole Island of Britain, and struck upon his Coins, can no where be supposed to have its original Stamp better than in that City where he triumphed for the greatest Glory of his Reign. It is not to be imagined

G 3

but

* Britannia. See York. This is one of the Arguments to prove EBORACVM a Colony as well as a Municipium, by Camden.

but that the Mint attended the Imperial Court; for no sooner was a great Action performed, but the whole Empire was made acquainted with it, by some signal Reverse struck immediately upon the current Coin.

Nor have we a less Claim to those Medals coined in Honour of the Deification of the Emperor *Constantian Chlorus*, and the Inauguration of his Son, *Constantine the Great*, the Ceremony of both these remarkable Events being performed, as before mentioned, at *EBORACVM*.

Signets, or Seals, of different Sorts, both what the *Italians* call *Cameos* and *Intaglios*, have been most certainly found in or about our City, in every Age since the Time of the *Romans*; but how lost again, or dispersed, is uncertain. Two or three of them fell into the Hands of Mr. *Drake*, and were by him presented to the Collection of the Antiquarian Society. The first was discovered in the *Mannor Garden*, but had an unlucky Stroke of a Spade across it in digging up. It is a *Beryl*. The Engraving is thought to be a *Pallas*, (*Fig. 13*) the Spear, Shield, Snake, &c. denoting that Goddess; but in later Ages it had been set and made Use of for a Counter-Seal (as the Word *Secretum*, inscribed thereon, imports) by *R. de Sepeševet*, that is, *Richard* or *Robert Sheephead*, probably some Monk of the Abbey of *St. Mary*, who might have found it 2 or 300 Years ago.

The next Seal is cut on another *Beryl*, but of a different and more extraordinary Impress than the former. (*Fig. 14*) It is a ludicrous Representation, in Hieroglyphicks, of the warm Love, to call it no worse, that *Otho*, before he was Emperor, had for *Poppæa Sabina*, the Lady whom *Nero* took from him, married, and afterwards killed with a Kick on the Belly, when she was with Child by the Monster.

The Story of *Otho's* Amours with *Poppæa* is related very fully in *Tacitus*, *Ann. 13*; in *Suetonius*, in *Vitâ Othonis*; and also in *Plutarch*, *Vitâ Galbæ*. By these Authorities it appears that there was a sham Marriage trump'd up betwixt the two Lovers, in order to prevent *Nero's* taking her from *Otho*, the *Romans* holding it highly unlawful to take another Man's Wife from him. But this did not hinder the Tyrant from committing the Rape; and it is Matter of Wonder that he let *Otho* escape with his Life; which he did, though he sent him

Propretor

no
de
nal

in
ias
the
nts
m.
the
er-
nce
er-
the
the
was
cky
yl.
the
but
r a
or,
bert
St.

ffe-
er.
ro-
hai
na,
ter-
was

ted
isā
nefe
age
ent
y it
im.
the
rbo
aim
tor



BRITISH MUSEUM
LIBRARY
STAMPED
MAY 12 1871
BY THE
LIBRARIAN



12



Flavius IVlius CRISPVS NOBilis Caesar
PRINCIPIVENTVTIS in una parte AQ



13



14



15

Oryc



16

Sardon

incis



37



38

incis

Propretor into a very remote Province, a Kind of an honourable Banishment, whilst *Nero* enjoyed the Lady, and at length dispatched her in the Manner before related.

This satyrical Representation has the Figure of a *Priapus*, dressed out with all the Emblems of Lust imaginable. It has a Cock's Head with the Mouth open; the Body of a *Penis*, on which is planted *Cupid's* Wings; the Tail of a Goat; and Satyr's Legs, the Thighs of which plainly represent the *Testes*. This strange Creature is offering a bright flaming Torch, or a Dart, or perhaps a Branch of Myrtle, upon an Altar with one of his Feet. The Inscription on the Verge OTHO POP SABI, and underneath FC, may be thus read, *Otho Poppæ Sabinae facem conjugalem [offert]* or some such other Word, the Verb being oftener understood than expressed in longer *Roman* Inscriptions than this. Or the FC may be read *Fascinum consecrat*, and in the latter Sense will better agree with the Representation, which is designed to be as obscene and satyrical as possible. *

The Seal was found somewhere in *Conyng-street*, and presented to Mr. *Drake* by Mr. *Beckwith*, a Jeweller in *York*. The Drawing of it, for the better Observation, is taken just as large again as the Stone really is.

The next is a Gem found in *York*, but in what Part of it is now uncertain. The Stone is a beautiful large Onyx, with the poetical Representation of *Bellerophon*, *Pegasus*, and *Chimæra* cut upon it. The same *Intaglio* is represented in *Gorlaeus*, and is by him call'd *Bellerophon* and *Chimæra*. *Abr. Gorlaei Dactyliothecæ, Pars 2. n. 2.*

This exactly agrees with a Drawing of the very same *Intaglio* published in a Book of antique Gems, Coins, &c. in the *Electar Palatine's* Cabinet; with this Difference only, that this is cut on an Onyx, and the other on a Sardonyx, and somewhat larger †. The Plate represents both, *Fig. 15, 16.*

Fig. 37, 38, represent two more *Intaglios* from the late

* We were led into the Story and Reading of this Seal, by that excellent Antiquary *Roger Gale, Esq;* by whose sagacious Judgment in these Matters, many dark and obscure Inscriptions have been brought to Light.

† *Gemmae et numismata in thesauro Palatino illustrat. &c. auctore L. Begero, sereniss. Elector. Palat. Antiquario et Biblioth. Heidelbergæ, MDCLXXXV.*

late Dr. *Langwith's* Collection. They are cut on *Cornelians*, but by a very indifferent Artist: The first represents a Military Figure hanging up a Trophy on a Laurel; the second, a disarmed Soldier, or Gladiator, resting on the Stump of a Tree, and seeming to resign his very Helmet, which he holds in his Left Hand.

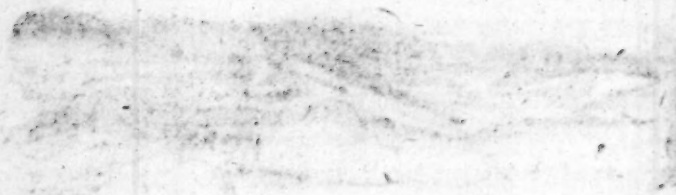
About the Year 1734 was found in *Walngate, York*, the little Image represented by *Fig. 17, 18*. It is certainly an Image of *Chronos Tempus*, or *Saturn*; but whether *Roman* or no, is uncertain; though a particular Elegance in it, as well as the mixed Metal of which it is cast, denotes it of *Roman Workmanship*. If so, this Image has in all Probability been one of their *Penates*, or Household Gods. A Hollowness within seems to shew as if it had been set upon a Prop for Chamber Worship.

By an Accident in opening a large Piece of Ground to dig Clay for Bricks, betwixt *Bootham* and *Clifton*, on the Left Hand, about half a Quarter of a Mile from the City, have been disclosed and thrown up several *Roman Sarcophagi*, or Stone Coffins, and a great Quantity of Urns, of different Colours, Sizes, and Shapes. The Law of the twelve Tables expressly says *Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito*, which ordained that the Dead, and the Rites belonging to them, should be removed to some Distance from the City. This Law, which they likewise had from the *Greeks*, the *Athenians* were strict in; but we are told the *Romans* frequently dispensed with it. What was then practised at *Rome*, we may believe was the same at *York*; and indeed we never heard of any Urns being found within, though many Hundreds have been discovered without the City. Stone Coffins have been frequently dug up, and some Monuments discovered, as *Lucius Dvecius*, &c. but no Urns that we ever heard of. It is natural to suppose that they lighted their Funeral Piles *extra Urbem*; and we are told by *Herodian* that the *Campus Martis* was the common Place for such Solemnities. This Place, which was formerly an open Field, is now the principal Part of *New Rome*; and if the Reader will examine *Donatus's* Draught of *Romulus's* Wall, and the *Campus Martis* without it, he will find that it exactly corresponds with our Burial-Place at *York*.

Clifton



63



CA
a C
the
Fu
ha
be
be
po
Na
du
ing
Do
ap
wh
gr
we
co
by
ou
sh
el
po
E
se
th
an
N
an
n
o
co
th
w
n
o
re
a
w
n

Clifton Fields, which have been inclosed little more than a Century, were formerly open enough to have been the *Campus Martius* to *EBORACVM*. There is a plain *Tumulus* beyond the Brick-Kilns, on which a Wind-Mill has been placed; and no Doubt, if the Ground was to be opened that Way, several more buried Remains would be discovered. The Gate which leads to this grand Repository of their Dead, is called *Bootham-Bar*; which Name, the learned Dean *Gale* observed, might be deduced from the *British* Word *Boeth*, which signifies *burning*, as a Gate out of which the *Romans* used to burn their Dead. We shall not contradict this Etymology; it is apt enough; and did not another bid much fairer for it, which we must mention in the Sequel, it would do us a great deal of Honour: But be that as it may, the Place we have described was most certainly, in their Time, a common Place of Interment on this Side the City; tho' by what follows it will appear that in other Parts, without the Walls, Urns, &c. have been discovered; which shews that, if the like Accident of digging should happen elsewhere, the same Curiosities might be found, though perhaps not in such Quantities.

What has been remarked by Dr. *Lister*, Mr. *Thoresby*, &c. and sent up to the Royal Society, concerning these sepulchral Repositories of the Ancients, shall be given in their own Words; which, with some further Discoveries and Observations, will dismiss the whole Affair.

And first the learned Doctor.—“Here are found at *York**, in the Road, or *Roman Street*, out of *Micklegate*, and likewise by the River Side, where the Brick-Kilns now are, Urns of three different Tempers, viz. 1. Urns of a blueish grey Colour, having a great Quantity of coarse Sand wrought in with the Clay. 2. Others of the same Colour, having either a very fine Sand mixed with it, full of *Mica*, or Cat Silver, or made of Clay naturally sandy. 3. Red Urns of fine Clay, with little or no Sand in it. These last are quite throughout of a red Colour, like fine *Bole*. Also many of these red Pots are elegantly adorned with Figures in *Basso Relievo*, and usually the Workman's Name, which I think others have mistaken for the Person's Name buried there, upon the Bottom

* Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions, v. 3.

Bottom or Cover, as IANARVS, and such-like; but that very Name I have seen upon several Pots, both here and at *Aldburgh*. After all, these are glazed Inside and Out, with a Kind of Varnish of a bright Coral Colour.

“The Composition of the first Kind of Pots did first give me Occasion to discover the Places where they were made. The one about the Midway betwixt *Wilberfoss* and *Barnby on the Moor*, six Miles from *York*, in the Sand-Hills or rising Ground where now the Warren is, where I have found scattered widely up and down, broken Pieces of Urns, Slag, and Cinders. The other is on the Sand-Hills at *Santon*, near *Brigg*, in *Lincolnshire*.”

We shall omit what the Doctor observes further on this Sort of Urns, and give Mr. *Thoresby's* Account, who followed him. *

“I have added to my *Roman* Curiosities two entire Urns, both of the bluish grey Colour, of different Forms, with some of the burnt Bones in them; the lesser of them is almost in the Form of the *Roman Simpulum* or *Guttus*, and by the Narrowness of the Neck seems rather to have been a Kind of *Lacrimatory*, or Vessel for some Kind of liquid Matter, rather than Ashes. I have likewise Part of an *Aqueduct*, which is turned in Form of a Screw on the Inside, has a narrow Neck at one End, to put into the open End of the next; and several of these, each a Foot long and four Inches broad, were found thus placed in the *Roman* Burial-Place at *York*, by the River Side out of *Bootham-Bar*, which was indisputably the Place the *Romans* made Use of for that End, as appears by the great Number of Urns frequently found there, when they dig the Clay for Bricks. And that it continued the Place of their Sepulture, after their Custom of Burning, introduced in the tyrannous Dictatorship of *Sylla*, was abolished, is evident by a remarkable *Hypogæum*, without any Urns in it, discovered last Winter, 1696. It was large enough to contain two or three Corpses, and was paved with Brick nigh two Inches thick, eight in Breadth and Length, being equilaterally square; upon which was a second Pavement of the same *Roman* Brick, to cover the Seams of the lower, and prevent the working up of Vermin: But those that covered the Vault

were

* Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions, v. 3.

were the most remarkable that I ever saw, being about two Foot square, and of a proportionable Thickness.

Again: "I have procured Part of the Bottom †, which consisted of several such Pieces, for the Convenience of Baking, of an old *Roman* Coffin, which was lately dug up in their Burying-Place out of *Bootham-Bar* at *York*. 'Tis of the red Clay, but not so fine as the Urns, having a greater Quantity of coarse Sand wrought up in the Clay, as to the Form, which is intire as it was at first moulded, it is fourteen Inches and a Half long, and eleven broad at the narrow End, and nigh twelve and a half at the broader; this was the lowest Part of the Feet, and the rest were proportionably broader till it came to the Shoulder; it is an Inch thick besides the Ledges, which are one broad and two thick, and extend from the Bottom of either Side to within three Inches of the Top, where it is wholly flat and somewhat thinner, for the next to lie upon it; which several Parts were thus joined together by some Pin I presume, for at the End of each Tile is a Hole that would receive a common plate-Pin. These Edges are wrought a little hollow, I suppose to receive the Sides, and at the Feet are two contrary Notches to fasten the End-Piece. This Bottom should conclude to have consisted chiefly of eight such parts, from a like Character 8 impress upon the Clay by the *Sandapilariu's* Finger before its Baking, but that somewhat doubt whether numeral Figures be of that Antiquity in these *European* Parts. I got also some Scars of broken Urns dug up in Mr. *Giles's* Garden, which are of the finest Clay that I have ever seen, with which was found a *Roman Shuttle*, about three Inches and a half long, but not one broad in the very Middle; the Hollow for the *Licium*, being but one Fourth of an Inch in the broadest Part, shews that it was for Silk or very fine Linen."

At the same Place the aforesaid Author gives this Account of another Discovery: "They have lately found a very remarkable Lead Coffin, which was about seven Foot long, was inclosed in a prodigious strong one made of Oak Planks about two Inches and a half thick, which, besides the Rivettings, were tacked together with Braggs and great Iron Nails; the Nails were four Inches long,

the

† Abridg. of the Philosophical Transactions, v. 5. ed. Jones.

the Heads not Die-wise as the large Nails now are, but perfectly flat and an Inch broad. Many of them are almost consumed with Rust, and so is the Outside of the Planks, but the Heart of the Oak is firm, and the Lead fresh and pliable; whereas one found a Year ago, 1704, is brittle, and almost wholly consumed, having no Planks to guard it. The Bones are light and entire, though probably interred 1500 Years ago, for it is above many Centuries since that Custom of burning gave Place to that more natural one of interring the Dead; which according to Monsieur Muret, was re-introduced by the *Antonines*. I have a Thigh-Bone, which is wonderfully light, and the lower Jaw, which was furnished with its Teeth. The double Coffins were so heavy, that they were forced to drag them out of the Dormitory with a Team of Oxen."

An anonymous Writer* to the Royal Society says "There was lately found at the Brick-Kilns without Bootham-Bar, an old Earthen Vessel, which is preserved in the *Musæum Asmoleanum* at Oxford, (*Fig. 19*). It is by some supposed to be an Urn, by others a Flower Pot; the Clay is of the Colour of *Halifax* Clay when burnt. The Potter's Part is well performed, the Face being bossed from within with a Finger, when upon the Wheel, and some Strokes of red Paint about the Curve of the Head and Eye-Brows, and two red Threads about the Neck. On the Backside of the Vessel a Leaf is drawn in Red, which is still very fresh, but no glazing neither upon the Clay nor red Colour; the Face upon the Vessel is as large as that of a middle-sized Woman.

Some other Kinds of Urns, &c. were found at York and had a Place in our *Leeds* Antiquary's Museum. These he has thought fit to give us the Icons of, and from his Plate have added them to ours, that nothing might be wanting to illustrate this Subject.

Roman Curiosities found at York, which were in Mr Thoresby's Musæum.

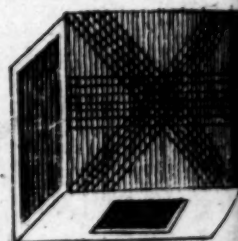
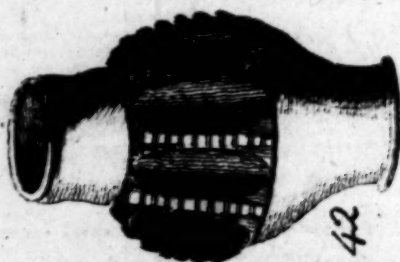
The Roman Brick. LEG. IX. VIC.

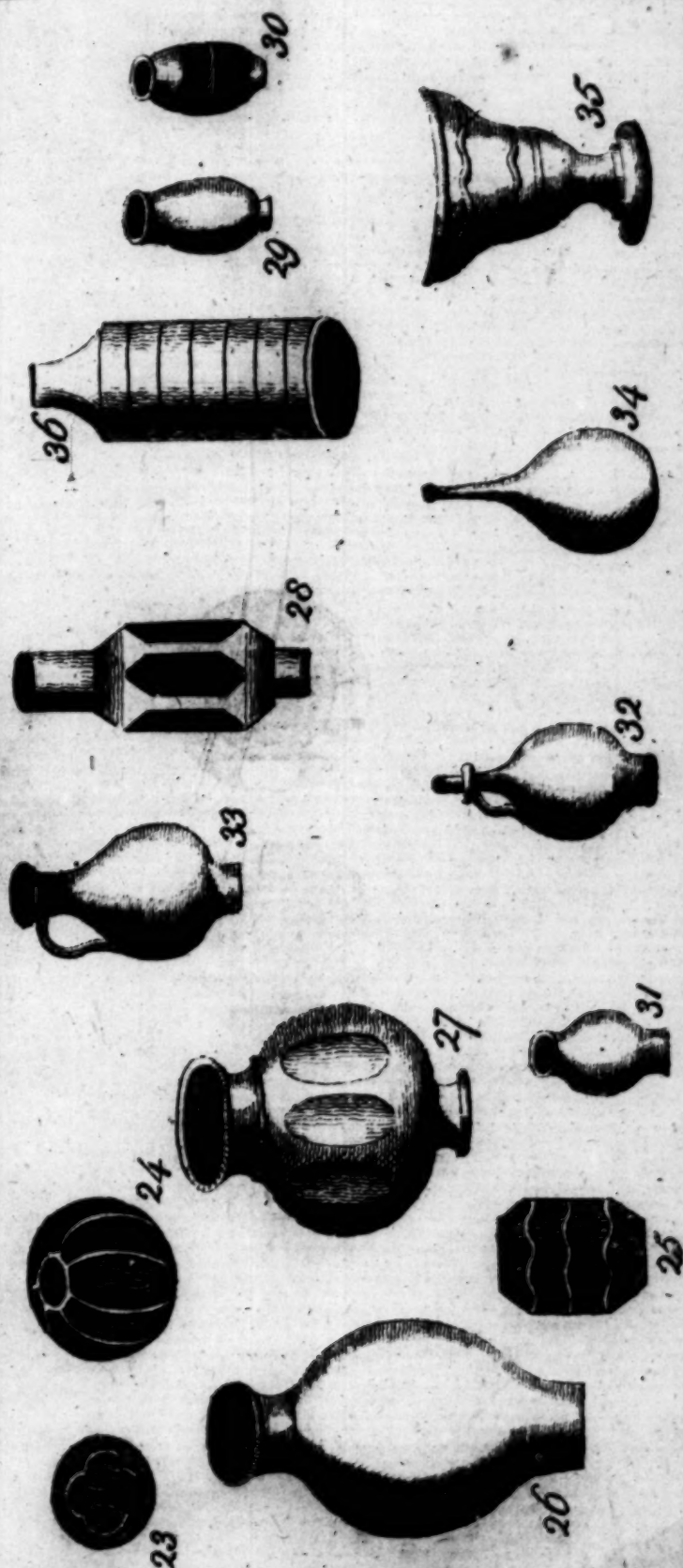
FIG. 20. A Roman Key, made in the Form of a Ring to wear upon the Finger, found at the Brick-Kilns out of Bootham-Bar.

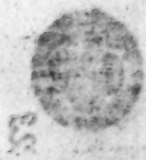
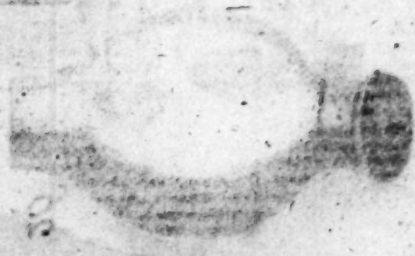
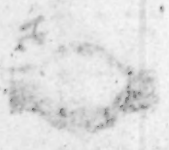
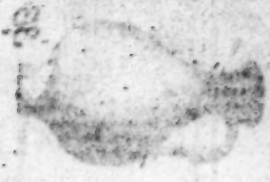
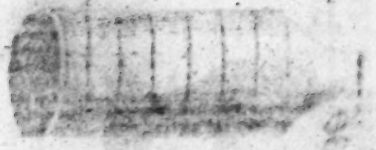
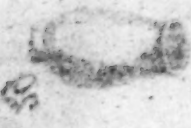
21. A *Fibula Vestiaria* found at the same Place.

* Abridg. of the Philosophical Transactions, v. 5. ed. 7^{me}.

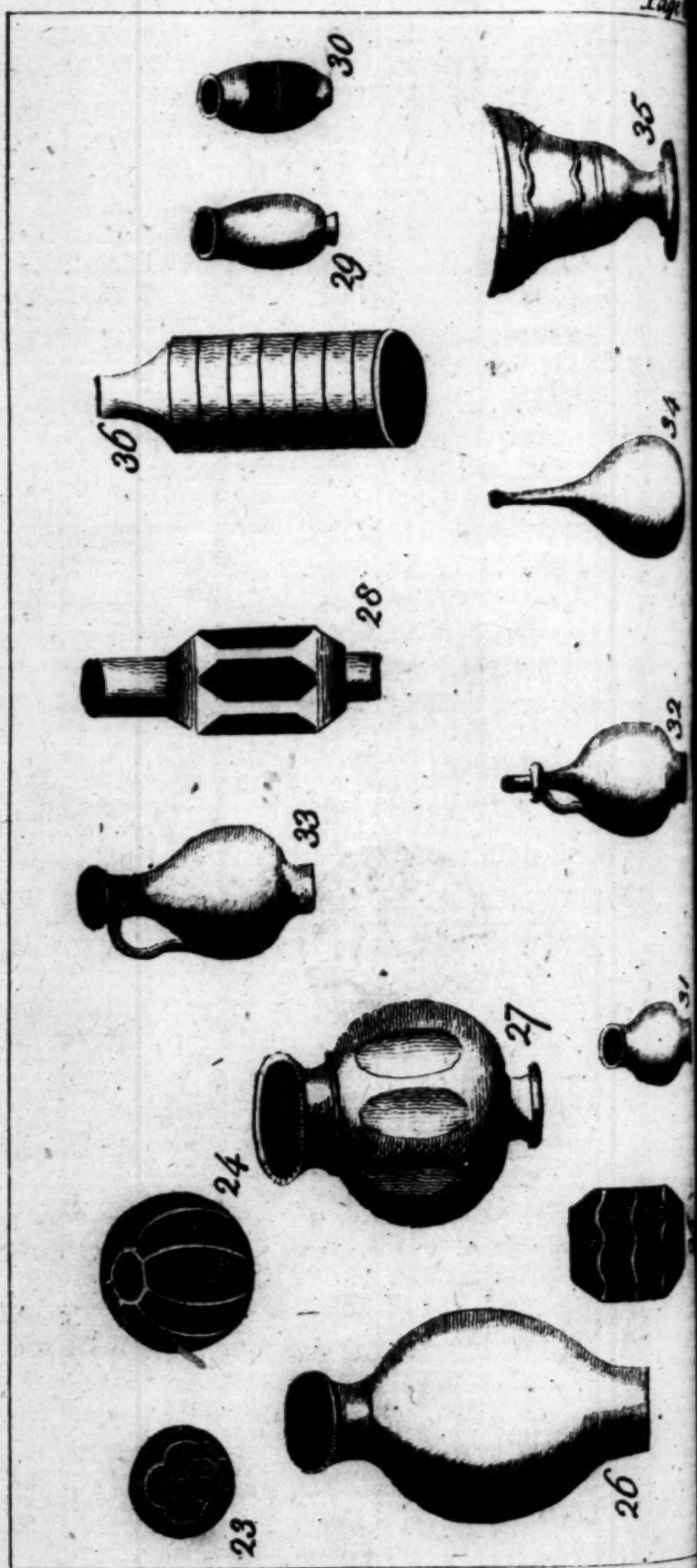












22. A Roman Bracelet, of Copper wreathed, found in the *Hypogæum* already described, being eight Inches in Circumference.
 23. A Bead of Earth, curiously wrought.
 24. Another of blue Glass, with white Snakes of that Sort, called *Adder Beads*, or *Druids Amulets*.
 25. Another, curiously enamelled white, red, and dark blue. All these found at the Place aforesaid.
 26. A sepulchral Urn, that will contain near a Gallon.
 27. Another, that will contain near a Quart.
 28. A small one full of the Ashes of a Child.
 29. A small red Urn
 30. One of Blue.
 31. Another of a different Form.
 32. One of those commonly called *Lacrimatories*.
 33. One of white Clay.
 34. A red Pottle, that will contain half a *Congius*.
 35. Part of a Vessel that seems to have been a *Patera*.
 36. One of the Parts of a *Roman Aquæduct*.
All discovered near the Brick-Kilns aforesaid.
- Found at York, now in the *Asbmolean Museum*.
37. A Roman Enamel chequered, found with certain Urns.
 38. A Roman Lamp.
 39. The Leg of a *Tripod*, Brass.
 40. A Roman Ring of Jet, found in digging Clay for Bricks, with Urns.

In the late Dr. *Langwith's* Collection.

41. A Roman *Patera*, the same Size with the Original.
42. A curious Roman Urn, the Original 8 Inches high, the Colour of the Clay a yellowish Brown.
43. The Floor of an *Hypocaustum*. This is exactly a Roman Foot in Height, the other Parts in Proportion. Dr. *Langwith* observes, that the *Hypocaustum*, which this was designed for, must have been such a one as that described in the *Philosoph. Transf.* N°. 306.

FIG. 44, 45. Two other Draughts of Urns.

The Doctor adds, That he has other Urns of different Shapes, Sizes, and Materials, found in the *Roman Burying-Place at York*, but these being the most curious he sent these Draughts. He strongly suspects that there was a *Roman Pottery* as well as a *Burying-Place* at or near where these Urns, &c. are, and wishes it was carefully observed with that View.

In the late *Dr. Langwith's Museum* was likewise a round Stone Ball, which *Mr. Thoresby* calls an *Harpastum*, a Name which can by no Means agree with it, for it is fitter to knock a Man's Brains out than to play withal.

Also a Brass Ring found in the Place above. It is big enough for an ordinary Man's Wrist, and was perhaps formerly put about that of a Slave.

A *Roman Bead* found in the same Place. It is of a reddish Colour, and looks as if it were made of baked Earth; but is enamelled with Yellow and Green which looks like Glass; the Size of it is much the same with Numb. 23, on the Plate. *Mr. Thoresby* fancies these Kinds of Beads to be like the *Adder's Beads*; but *Dr. Langwith* had several of these in his Collection, and could not see any Resemblance.

But amongst the many *Roman Curiosities* found at *York*, and yet preserved, there are none deserves a Place in this Work better than this antique Head, which we here exhibit a Draught of as large as the Original. It was found in digging a Cellar in the *Manor*, or the Ruins of the Abbey of *St. Mary's, York*, about sixty Years ago, and was given to *Roger Gale, Esq.* who supposes it a *Lacertina*, there being no Goddes in all their Theology to ascribe it to. For the rest we refer to the Plate, as a lasting Memorial of *Roman Elegance and Ingenuity*.

A *Roman Grave* for Urns, the Door of which was covered with white Sand; also two *Sarcophagi*, or Stone Coffins, were discovered about the Year 1730, in which last the Bones were found very light and dry, but intire.

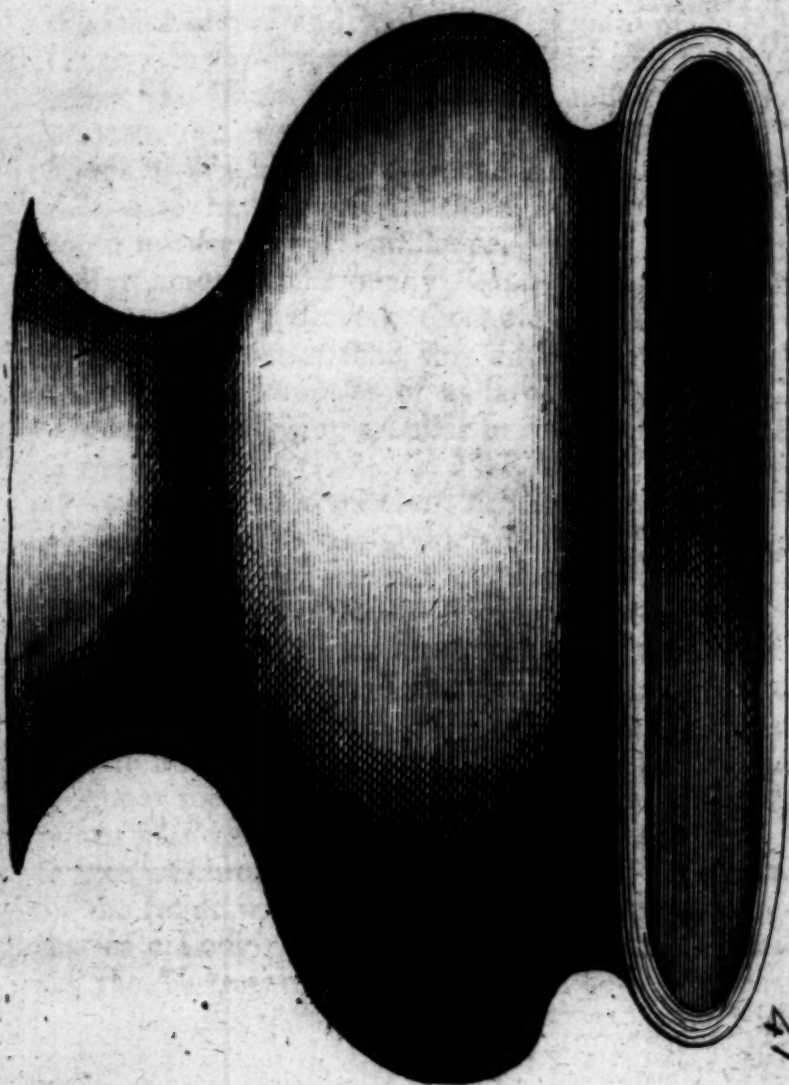
About forty Years ago was dug up, near the Mount out of *Micklegate-Bar*, a Glass and Leadern Urn. The former was broke into two or three Pieces; it was coated on the Inside with a Sort of blueish Silver Colour, like that of a Looking-Glass; and is what our Philosophers call the *Electrum* of the Ancients. The Leadern one was

imme-

LIBERARIUS
VAGS. M.
BILIOVET
2 VILLAGE
BILIOVET



46



41





immediately sold by the Workmen who found it, to a
lumber, whose Ignorance suffered him to beat it to-
gether and melt it down.

FIG. 46. A Pedestal of the Gritt Kind, 2 Feet high
and 10 Inches broad, was found near *Micklegate-Bar*,
1740, with an Inscription as on the Plate, which is
submitted to the Curious.

FIG. 47. was found in 1747, in digging the Foun-
dation of a House in *Micklegate*, opposite *St. Martin's*
Church. The Workmen having dug much below any
former Foundation that could be observed, at the Depth
10 Feet came to a Stone, which, when taken up,
appeared to have Figures upon it, but greatly defaced.
It is 2 Feet 3 Inches long, 1 Foot 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inches broad,
and 7 Inches thick. A Drawing of it was taken by our
Antiquary *Francis Drake, Esq;* and sent to the
learned *Dr. Stukely*, who returned the following short,
curious Explanation, which was sent by *Mr. Drake*
to the Royal Society.

"This Drawing is a great Curiosity: 'Tis a Sculp-
ture of *Mitbras*, as usual, sacrificing a Bull. He has on
a *Perſian* Mantle, called *Candys*, and the *Phrygian* Bon-
net, called *Tyara*. He represents the *Archimagus*, per-
forming the great annual Sacrifice, at the Spring Equi-
nox, according to the Patriarchal Usage.

"These Ceremonies to *Mitbras* were generally cele-
brated in a Cave of a Rock; therefore this Sculpture
is found so deep in the Earth.

"There is commonly a Figure on each Side of him,
adorned in the same Manner, standing cross-legged:
the one holds a Torch up, the other down: Here is
only the latter in your Sculpture; the other is imperfect.

"Underneath is the Figure of a Horse, intimating
the Sun's Course: For in the Time when the old Patri-
archal Customs became profane and desecrated into Ido-
lry, they made *Mitbras* to be the *Apollo*, or Sun;
hence these Sculptures had a Number of Symbols re-
lating to the Solar Circuit of the Year thro' the twelve
diacal Constellations. The two Figures attending on
the *Archimagus* are inferior Officers to him. There is a
mystery in their standing cross-legged, like our Effigies
Croisaders in Churches, and it means the same Thing;
the Cross was one Part of the *Mithriac* Ceremonies.

These two, by the different Attitude of their Torches, represent Day and Night, as *Mitbras* represents the Sun. The Figure imperfectly drawn at the Tail of the Horse, is, I believe, a Genius twisted round with a Snake; which means the Vitality imparted to all Things by the Solar Power.

"The other Figures are too imperfect to trouble you with Conjectures about them; but they all regard the same Design. They are officiating Priests, and dress in a symbolic Manner, to intimate the Sun's Influence and annual Motion.

"The Romans became extremely fond of the *Mitbras* Sacreds, whence here you find this Sculpture in the Imperial City. I saw an Image of *Mitbras* at *Chester*, and no Doubt there are many more in *Britain*.

"*St. Jerom*, in his Epistle to *Lata*, writes, "A few Years ago, your Cousin *Gracchus*, a Name of *Patrician* Quality, when he was *Præfect* of the City, destroyed, broke, and burnt the Cave of *Mitbras*." This was at *Rome*, and about the Year 378. Not long after, we may well imagine, your *Roman* *Præfect* of *York* followed his Example, and demolished the subterranean Temple in *Micklegate*, where this Sculpture of him was found.

This Stone is now in the Possession of *Mrs. Sandercock* of *York*.

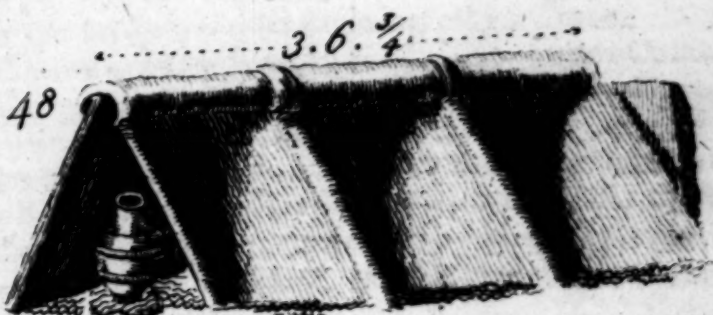
FIG. 48. A *Roman* Sepulchre, of a singular Form, which was found by some Labourers in 1768, in turning over a fresh Piece of Ground for a Garden near the City Walls, West of *Micklegate-Bar*. The following Account of it was sent to the Antiquarian Society by *Mr. William White*, of *York*, F. A. S. in whose Possession it is.

"This Sepulchre was formed of Tiles, being three in Length, each 20 Inches long, and $15\frac{1}{2}$ Inches broad, with prominent Edges. These, with the same Number upon the other Side, were built up in the Form of the Roof of a House, making a Triangle with the Ground below. This was covered at the Top with semicircular Tiles of a small Diameter, so close as to prevent the least Particle of Earth from falling within the Cavity.

"Each End of the Dormitory was closed with a Tile of the same Form and Size as those of the Sides, and each of these is this Inscription:

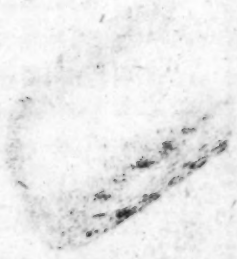
L E G I X H I S - - .

"Within



Grey.





em
ur
ow
"
ont
cry
na
the
he
Hop
oth
"
weig
n t
M
"
ron
hey
exc
mi
ecu
Me
"
Em
whi
na
na
ica
Ho
Leg
pro
gen
"
Bri
er
Na
tat
ru
ori
aur
hi

“ Within the Cavity of this Sepulchre were found the remains of a human Body, which seem to have been burnt; among these were a Part of a Thigh-Bone, the lower Jaw broken, but containing all its Teeth.

“ There was likewise an Urn, of a blueish-grey Colour, containing Ashes, covered with a Bit of Slate. I got it very well preserved, with one of the same Sort, of a smaller Size and broken. Near to this they found another Earthen Vessel of red Clay with a Handle to it; the Bottom of it was broken off by the Workmen in hopes of finding Treasure, but I believe it contained nothing but common Earth.

“ They brought me a Silver Ring for the Finger, weighing seven Penny-weights, which they said was found in the last-mentioned Vessel; but I apprehend this to be a Mistake, as it seems not to be *Roman*.

“ I was obliged to take the latter Part of this Account from the Labourers, as I knew not of the Discovery till they brought me the Urns, Ring, and a few Coins, all except one much defaced. I went immediately and examined the Sepulchre in situ, measured the Tiles, and secured the two End ones with the Inscriptions. The Medal is a *Domitian* well preserved,

Reverse, FIDEI PUBLICAE.

“ The ninth Legion came over into *Britain* under the Emperor *Claudius*, and was surnamed *Hispanica*, under which Title it is mentioned by *Tacitus*. There has been many Monuments found in *Britain*, wherein Mention is made of this Legion; but instead of the Adjunct *Hispanica*, all of them have that of *Victrix*; this puzzled Mr. *Horsley*, who, in order to account for it, supposed this Legion to have been incorporated with the Sixth, whose proper Title was *Victrix*, by which the latter became general.

“ By this Inscription (the only one yet discovered in *Britain* in which the ninth Legion appears with its proper Title *Hispanica*) we know that it retained that Name long after its Arrival in this Island, and when stationed at *EBORACUM*. If Mr. *Horsley*'s Opinion be true, which is very probable, this Monument must be prior to that Period, and consequently to all the Monuments yet discovered, in which Mention is made of this Legion.

"This is doubtless the Sepulchre of a Soldier belonging to the *Legio nona Hispanica*."

FIG. 49. A flat Gritt Stone, 3 Feet long, 2 Feet 1 Inch broad, and 7 Inches thick, with the Inscription as on the Plate. In *August*, 1770, in digging two Feet deep in *Friar's Gardens*, near *Toft-Green*, was found some Part of the Foundation of a Temple of Roman Brick Work, so firmly cemented that it resisted the Stroke of a Pick. This Fragment was the Segment of a Circle, and a little below was taken up the above-mentioned Stone, which is now in the Possession of *Francis Smyth, Esq; F. A. S.*

The following *Roman Antiquities*, found at and near *York*, are now in the Possession of *Mr. Thomas Bewick*, Painter in *York*.

FIG. 50. A small sepulchral Urn of blue Clay, 3 Inches deep, found near *Clifton*, about 1750.

51. Another of a different Form, 4 Inches deep, found at the same Place.

52. A Patera of the Coralline Earth, 4 Inches Diameter, found betwixt *York* and *Middlebury*, in 1770.

53. A large Vessel of the same, 8 Inches Diameter, embossed with Vine Leaves, &c. found at the same Place.

54. } A Kind of a Stud of Brass, found near the
55. } above, the same Size with the Figure.

56. An Urn of red Clay, with its Cover, near 4 Inches deep, found near the same Place.

57. An Iron Instrument, upwards of 14 Inches long, found with the above.

58. A Brass ditto, the same Size as the Figure.

A CATALOGUE of ROMAN COINS found at *YORK* since the Publication of *Mr. Drake's EBORACUM*, which are now in the Possession of *Mr. WILLIAM WHITE, F. A. S.*

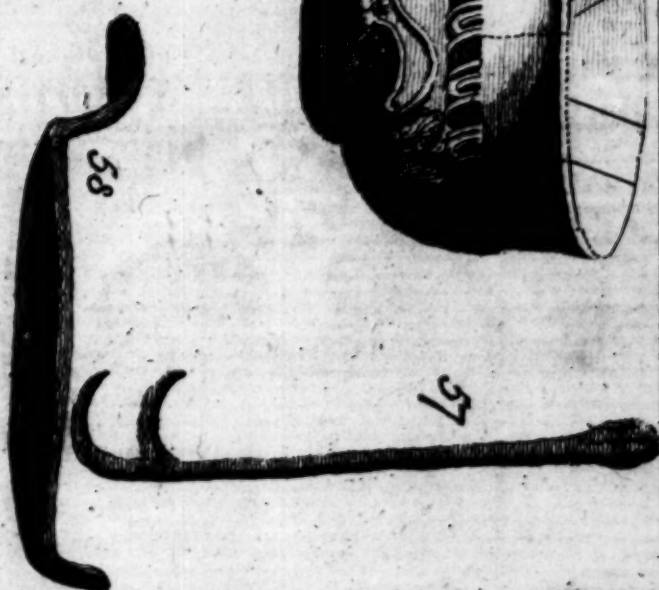
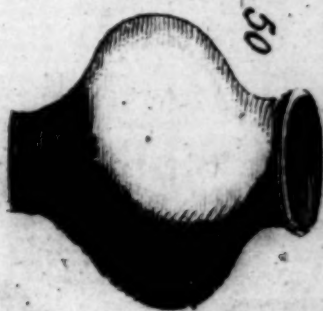
B R A S S, first Size.

CALIGULA.

▷ C Caesar Avg Germanicus Pon M TR. POT. Caput Caij laureatum.

Rev. Adlocvt coh. Imperator adloquitur militib.

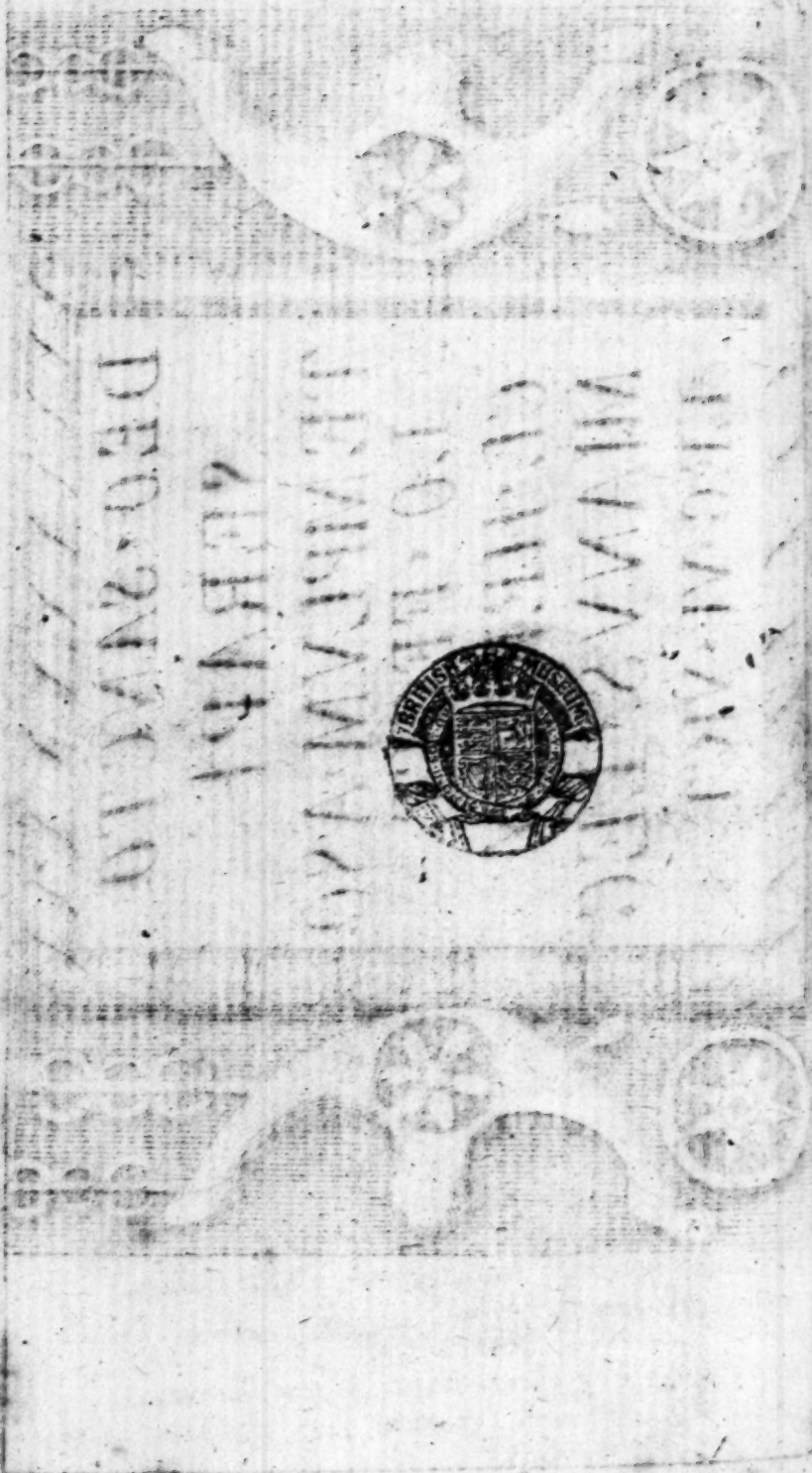
CLAUDIVS





49

DEO · SANCTO
SERAPI
TEMPLVM · ASO
LO · FECIT
CL · HERONY
MIANVS · LEG
LEG · VI · VICT.



DEO. 2. 10

ALBANI

JEAN-BAPTISTE

10. 10

CE. 10. 10

MA. 10. 10

10. 10. 10

CLAUDIUS.

2. Imp Clavdivs Caesar Aug PM. TRP. *Caput laureâ
insigne.*

Rev. Spes Avgvsta. S. C. *Spei typus.*

GALBA.

3. Imp Ser Galba Aug. *Caput laureatum Galbæ.*
Rev. Roma S. C. *Romæ simulacrum sedens.*

VESPASIAN.

4. . . Aes Vespasian Aug PM. TR P. *Vespasiani caput
laureatum.*

Rev. Pax Avgvst S. C. *Figura stans, dextra pa-
teram, sinistra cornucopiæ.*

DOMITIAN.

5. Imp Caes Divi Vesp F Domitian Avg PM. *Caput
laureatum.*

Rev. TR. P Cos. vii Des viii P P. *Minerva stans.*

TRAJAN.

6. . . Nerv Traiano Avg Ger Dac PM. TR P. Cos
Vpp. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. . . mo Principi S. C. *Figura stans, dextra
temonem navis, sinistra cornucopiæ.*

HADRIAN.

7. Hadrianvs Avg Cos - - . *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. Adventvs Avg. S. C. *Imperator togatus ma-
num porrigit figuræ militari.*

LUCILLA.

8. Lucillae Avg Antonini Avg F. *Caput Lucillæ.*

Rev. Hilaritas S. C. *Figura stans, dextra pal-
mam oblongam, læva cornucopiæ.*

B R A S S, second Size.

AUGUSTUS.

9. Divvs Avgvstvs Pater. *Caput Augusti radiatum.*

Rev. S. C. *Aquila.*

AGRIPPA.

10. M Agrippa LF Cos iii. *Caput coronâ rostratâ insigne.*

Rev. S. C. *Neptunus stans.*

TIBERIUS.

11. Ti Caesar Avgvst F Imperat. v. *Caput nudum.*

Rev. *Ara cum victoriis.*

NERO.

12. Nero Caesar Avg Germ Imp. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. *Victoria alata gradiens cum clypeo in quo.*

S. P. Q. R. S. C.

13. Nero

92 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

13. Nero Clavd Caesar Avg Ger PM. TR. P. Imp.
Caput radiatum.

Rev. Roma S. C. Roma galeata sedens.

14. Idem.

*Rev. Victoria Avgvsti S. C. Victoria alata gra-
diens, dextra coronam, læva palmæ ramum.*

VESPASIAN.

15. Imp Caesar Vespasian Avg Cos iiiii. *Caput radiatum.*

*Rev. Pax Avg. S C. Figura stans, dextra pater-
ram aræ accensæ admovent, læva caduceum et
olivæ ramum gerens.*

16. Imp Caes Vesp Avg PM. T. P. Cos v Cens. *Caput
radiatum.*

*Rev. Felicitas Pvblica S. C. Figura muliebris
stans, dextra caduceum, læva cornucopiæ.*

17. Idem.

*Rev. Aequitas -- S. C. Figura stans cum bilance
& hasta.*

18. Idem.

Rev. S. C. Aquila alis expansis, globo insistens.

DOMITIAN.

19. Imp Caes Domit Avg Germ Cos xii Cens P. P.
Caput laureatum.

*Rev. Fidei Pvblicae S. C. Figura stans cum pa-
pavere et patera.*

MAXIMINUS.

20. Maximinus Pivs Avg Germ. *Caput laureatum.*

*Rev. Fides Militum. S. C. Figura stans, utraq-
manu tenens signum militare.*

MAXIMUS CÆSAR.

21. Maximus Caes Germ. *Caput Nudum.*

Rev. Pietas Avg S. C. Vasa pontificalia.

CARACALLA.

22. Antoninus Pivs Avg Germ. *Caput laureatum.*

*Rev. PM TR. P. xviii Cos iiiii P. P. S. C. Escu-
lapius stans baculo innitens cum serpente.*

S M A L L B R A S S.

GALLIENUS.

23. Gallienus Avg. *Caput radiatum.*

Rev. Fortvna Redvx. Figura sedens.

24. Idem.

Rev. Dianæ Conf Avg. xi. Capra.

POSTU-

POSTUMUS.

25. Imp. C. Postumus PF Avg. *Postumi caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Virtus Avg. *Figura militaris stans, dextra*
hastam sinistra clypeum.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

26. Imp C Claudius Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Iovi Statori. *Jupiter stans cum hasta et*
fulmine.

27. Divo Claudio. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Consecratio. *Ara.*

CLAUDIUS TACITUS.

28. Imp M. Cl. Tacitus Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Laetitia Fund. xxi. *Figura stans læva an-*
choram.

CARUS.

29. Imp Carus PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Spea Publica. xxi. *Spei Typus.*

CARINUS.

30. Imp Carinus PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Faelicitas Pvblica. xxi. *Figura stans dextra*
caduceum, sinistra columnæ innitens.

NUMERIANUS.

31. Imp. C Numerianus Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Mars Victor. *Mars gradiens dextra hastam,*
sinistra trophæum.

DIOCLETIAN.

32. Imp Diocletianus Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Genio Populi Romani. TR. *Genius stans*
capite modio instructo, dextra pateram, læva
cornucopiæ.

33. Imp. Diocletianus Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Iovi Conservatori xxi. B. *Jupiter stans dex-*
tra fulmen, læva hastam.

CARAUSIUS.

34. Imp. Carausius PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Oriens Avg. *Figura stans radiato capite,*
hasta et globe instructa.

35. Idem.
 Rev. Pax Avg. *Pacis typus.*

ALLECTUS.

36. Imp C Allectus PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
 Rev. Providentia Avg. *Figura stans dextra pa-*
teram, sinistra hastam transversam.

MAXI-

94 The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES

MAXIMIANUS.

37. Imp Maximianvs PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Iovi Conservatori xxi. Jupiter stans, ful-
mine et hasta instructus.

CONSTANTIUS.

38. Constantivs Nob C. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Genio Popvli Romani xxi. Dens. Genius
stans, coram ara accensa.

CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS.

39. Imp Constantivs Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Soli invicto Comiti. Figura solis capite radi-
ato cum globo.

40. Idem. *Rev. Marti Patri Conservatori. TR. P. Mars.*

CRISPUS.

41. Ivl Crispvs Nob C. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Beata Tranquilitas. TR. P. Ara.

MAXENTIUS.

42. Imp Maxentivs PF Avg. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Conservat Vrb Ivae. Figura sedens in templo
sex columnarum.

CONSTANTINUS junior.

43. Constantivs jun Nob C. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Providentia Caef. P. Tr. Castellum.

CONSTANS.

44. Dn Constans PF Avg. *Caput gemmis cinctum.*
Rev. Fel Temp Reparatio. Imperator stans, la-
barum tenens.

CONSTANTIUS.

45. Ivl Constantivs Nob C. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Gloria Exercitus. Signa gemina inter duos
milites armatos.

MAGNENTIUS.

46. Dn Magnentivs PF Avg. *Caput nudum.*
Rev. Gloria Romanorum. Imperator eques victum
supplicem telo transverberaturus.

VALENTINIANUS.

47. Dn Valentinianvs PF Avg. *Caput gemmis cinctum.*
Rev. Votis v Mvltis x. In laurea.

VALENS.

48. Dn Valens PF Avg. *Caput diademate insignis.*
Rev. Securitas Reipublicae. Victoria alata gra-
diens, cum laurea et palma.

SILVER.

SILVER.

AUGUSTUS.

S. P. Q. R. Pat. Cons svo. *Laurea tunica palmata, aquila legionaria.*

Rev. Caesari Avgvsto. *Quadriga.*

VESPASIAN.

Imp Caes Vespasianvs. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. Imp xix. *Vas frumentarium cum extantibus spicis.*

TRAJAN.

Imp Traiano Avg Ger Dac PM TR. P. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. Cos vii S. P. Q. R. Optimo Princ. *Figura stans cum balance et cornucopiae.*

HADRIAN.

Hadrianvs Avgvstvs. *Caput laurea insignie.*

Rev. Cos iii. *Victoria alata sedens laurea et palma instructa.*

SABINA.

Sabina Avgvsta. *Caput velatum.*

Rev. Vesta. *Vesta sedens, dextra Palladium, laeva hastam puram.*

ANTONINUS PIUS.

M Antoninvs Avg TR. P. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. Liberalitas Avg Cos iii. *Figura stans, dextra tesseram, laeva cornucopiae.*

SEVERUS.

Severvs Pivs Avg. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. Fortvna Redvx. *Simulachrum fortune re-ducis sedens.*

JULIA DOMNA.

Iulia Avgvsta. *Caput Juliae.*

Rev. Pietas Avg. *Figura muliebris velata, sacrificans coram tripode.*

CARACALLA.

Imp Antoninvs Pivs Avg. *Caput laureatum.*

Rev. Fides Militvm. *Tria signa militaria.*

GETA.

Sept Geta Caes Pont. *Caput nudum juvenile.*

Rev. Nobilitas. *Figura stans dextra hastam, sinistra icunculam.*

96 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

ELAGABALUS.

59. Antoninus Pius Avg. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Sanctus Sacerdos Avg. Figura sacrificans
ad verticem stella.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

60. Imp Alexander Pius Avg. *Caput laureatum.*
Rev. Spes Pvblica. Spei typus, ut in numis
Claudij.

JULIA MÆSA.

61. Ivlia Mæsa Avg. *Caput Mæsa.*
Rev. Saecvli Faelicitas. Figura velata sacrificans
coram tripode, cum stella.

JULIA MAMÆA

62. Ivlia Mamaea Avg. *Caput Mamaea.*
Rev. Vesta. Vesta stans, cum patera et hasta.

GORDIANUS tertius.

63. Imp Caes M. Ant Gordianus Avg. *Caput radi-*
atum.

Rev. Iovi Conservatori. Jupiter stans sinistram
hastam, dextra Imperatorem pallio tegit.

M. JULIUS PHILIPPUS.

64. Imp M Ivli Philippus Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Romae Aeternae. Romæ simulacrum sedens
dextra victoriam, sinistra hastam.

GALLIENUS.

65. Gallienus PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Germanicus Max v. Trophæum, in capite
imo duo captivi manibus post terga revincti.

SALONINA.

66. Salonina Avg. *Caput, lunæ crescentis cornibus circum-*
tum.

Rev. Ivno Regina. Figura stans dextra patera
leva hastam.

PROBUS.

67. Imp. C. M Avr Probus Avg. *Caput radiatum, alba*
quoque sceptro.

Rev. Soli Invicto. Sol in quadrigis.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

68. Imp C Claudius PF Avg. *Caput radiatum.*
Rev. Victoria Avg. Victoria alata gradientis, cum
corona et palma.

the following ROMAN COINS were found, within these few Years, at and near YORK, and are now in the Possession of Mr. THOMAS BECKWITH.

CÆSAR VESPASIAN.

Imp. Caesar. Vespasian. Avg. Cof. II. Caput laureatum.

Rev. S. C. *Aquila alis expansis globo insistens.*

ANTONINUS.

Imp. Antoninus Avg. Imp. II. Caput nudum.

Rev. Cof. II. *Figura sedens.*

GORDIANUS.

Imp. Gordianus Pivs. Fel. Avg. Caput laureatum.

Rev. Aeternitati. Avg. S. C. *Figura stans dextram sublevans, sinistra globum.*

POSTUMUS

Imp. Postumus P. F. Avg. Caput radiatum.

Rev. Providentia Avg. *Figura stans dextra globum sinistra hastam.*

CONSTANTINUS.

Imp. Constantinus P. F. Avg. Caput laureatum.

Rev. Principi. Inventus. *Figura militaris stans utraque manu tenens signum militare.*

CRISPUS.

Imp. Crispus. Nob. Caes. Caput laureatum.

Rev. Soli Inviato Comiti. *Figura solis stans.*

This Roman Imperial City of Britain is still casually throwing up Remains of its ancient Magnificence; and there is no Doubt, when more of the Grounds in and about it come to be laid open, several more Roman Antiquities will be discovered. Here we shall take our Leave of that brave Race of Men, who, for many Ages, had spread Terror and Conquest thro' the then known World, but whose Arms and Glory, not long after their deserting Britain, were lost, and buried in an Abyss never to rise again.

The State of the City from the Romans leaving the Island to the calling over the Saxons, and quite through the Heptarchy, &c. to the Norman Conquest.

ABOUT five hundred Years from *Cæsar's* first Attempt on this Island, four hundred from the Conquest by *Claudius*, the Romans intirely evacuated it. In the Reign of *Theodosius, jun.* the Roman Empire sunk so fast, that *Britain* was totally neglected: The last Lieutenant *Ætius*, who had been sent over to defend them from their old Invaders, at his Departure, which was about the Year 430, advised the *Britons* to stand to their Arms, be upon their Guard themselves, and for the future provide for their own Safety; for they must never more expect any Succours from them, who had their Hands full enough of Troubles nearer home.

And now, says an old *British* Historian *, the *Saxons* and *Picts*, with greater Confidence than ever, like Flies and Vermin in the Heat of Summer, issued out of their narrow Holes and Caves, and immediately seized on all the Country as far as the Wall; which, without Resistance, they made themselves Masters of. In the mean Time the Guards on the Wall, instead of preparing to receive their Enemies with Vigour and Courage, like idle Spectators stood trembling, and suffered themselves to be pulled down with Hooks from the Top of it. It was not long before their Enemies had undermined and broken those mighty Ramparts the *Romans* had built for their Defence; and then, like an irresistible Torrent, rushed in and bore down all before them. The poor dispirited *Britons* were driven like Sheep, and slaughtered without Mercy. In this dreadful Calamity they call aloud on their old Friends to help and support them; and in a most moving Letter sent to *Ætius*, Governor of *Gaul*, they cry, *We know not which Way to turn us; the Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea back to the Barbarians.* Thus of two Kinds of Death always present before

ere our Eyes, one or other must be our Choice, either to be
 allowed up by the Waves, or butchered by the Sword. †
 There is a very good Reason to be given for this Dis-
 tressedness of the Britons at this Juncture. The Ro-
 mans had drained the Country of their ablest Men, and
 the rest which staid were, out of a politick View, never
 suffered to bear Arms whilst they were amongst them;
 we shall find them shortly recover their Spirits, and
 fight their Enemies in another Manner.

Of this general Calamity our City must have had a
 very great Share fall to its Lot. It had been always a Place
 whence the Barbarians received their strongest Re-
 lources, a Station in which the Romans chose to plant Part
 of the Flower of their Army, as a Garrison to curb and
 restrain the Inroads of these Depredators, and therefore
 they inevitably feel their fiercest Vengeance. But we
 were here in dumb Sorrow, and lost in the general Con-
 fusion.

About the Year 450, the Picts and Scots had per-
 viously subdued all the Country North of the Humber, and
 the City lay as it were buried so deep in its own Ruins,
 that we should not know where to find it, without
 the Assistance of the Scotch Historians, who are very par-
 ticular in the Description of their Countrymen's Con-
 ditions, as they are pleased to call them, at this Time.
 The Britons finding they were not to expect any Suc-
 cour from the Romans called in the Saxons to their Assist-
 ance, and Hengist, their General, upon his Arrival in
 Britain with his Army, immediately marched against the
 Britons, and near unto York, says our Authorities*, a
 bloody Battle was fought, wherein the Saxons had the
 Victory, slew a great Number of the Picts and Scots, took
 from them the City of York, and all the Country on this
 side the River Teese. The Blow was so great, that had
 the Saxon General followed it, the War would quickly
 have been at an End; but this Leader of Auxiliary
 Troops was too wise and politick to act in that Manner;
 he was not willing, says H. Boetius, to drive the Scots and
 Picts quite home again, which was to put an End to the

I 2

War

ÆTIO III. CON. gemitus Britannorum, post pauca quærentes
 nos, repellunt nos Barbari ad mare,—repellit ad Barbaros. Inter-
 iuntur duo genera funerum, aut jugulamur aut mergimur. Gildæ
 Hist. ed. Gale inter. script. Ang. xv.

Hall's Scotch Chron. Buckan. Hist.

War at once, he chose rather to withdraw his Army from the City of *York*, where he staid some Time to refresh, he pretended, his wearied Troops.

Soon after this, when the deluded *Britons* began to smell out the *Saxons'* Design of settling in *Britain*, he had sent for *Aurelius Ambrosius* from *Armorica*, to deliver them from this undreamt-of Danger, the subtle *King* privately sent down his Son *Occa*, in order to secure the Northern Fortresses, but especially *York* †. The King obeyed the Father's Instructions, and at *York*, seized upon Accusations against many of the Nobility, Gentry, and principal Inhabitants of the City and Country, that they had a Design to betray their own Country into the Hands of the Enemies they had just got rid of; and, upon a strange Pretence, put many of them to Death, some secretly, others openly, as actually convicted of the Treasons laid to their Charge.

This villanous Affair was resented as it deserved. The *Britons*, roused from their Lethargy, and having an able and an experienced General of their own and Royal Stock at their Head, *Vortimer*, the Son of *Venerbert*, before the Arrival of *Ambrosius*, fell upon the *Saxons*, and defeated them in four several Battles. Their Leader slew such Numbers of them, that, had they sprung up like *Hydra's* Heads, and poured in fresh Supplies from their inexhaustible Springs in *Germany*, a total Expulsion must have been inevitable.

Under the Conduct of their victorious King, *Ambrosius*, *Hengist*, the *Saxon* General, met his Fate, being slain at *Conyngsburch*, according to *G. Mon.* after a most obstinate and bloody Battle. His two Sons, *Occa*, or *Ossa*, and *Eosa* fled with the shattered Remains of their Army more Northward; the former to *York* and *Eosa* to the City of *Aclud*, *Aldburgh*.

Aurelius quickly pursued them, and coming to *York*, summoned *Ossa* to surrender*. The young Prince, terrified no Doubt by his Father's Fate, consulted his Friends some Time, whether he should stand or not. At length determining to try the Victory or Mercy, he came out of the City with his principal Nobles, carrying each a Chain in his Hand, and offering his Head, and presented himself to the King (*the*

† *Scotch Chron.*

* *G. Mon. R. Higden. Polichron.*

With this Address: My Gods are vanquished, and I doubt
but the sovereign Power is in your God, who has
compelled so many Noble Persons to come before you in this
pliant Manner; be pleased therefore to accept of us and
Chain; if you do not think us fit Objects of your Cle-
mency, we here present ourselves ready to be fettered, and
willing to undergo any Punishment you shall judge us
worthy of. Aurelius, who had equally the Character of a
merciful as well as a valiant Prince, could not hear this
without being moved; and being touched with Com-
passion at the Spectacle, after advising with his Coun-
sellors what to do with them, he, at the Instigation of a
Bishop, (says Geofry of Monmouth) granted free Pardon to
them all. The other Brother, encouraged by Osa's Suc-
cess, came to York, surrendered himself in like Manner,
and met with the same Reception. Nay more, this
generous Victor assigned them for Residence the Country
bordering on Scotland, and made a firm League and Al-
liance with them: But the Consequence will shew the
Effect of this too charitable Proceeding.

His Pagan Enemies being now subdued*, Aurelius
summoned all the Princes and Nobility of the whole
Kingdom to York. At this general Council he gave
orders to them for the speedy Restoration of the Church
and its Worship, which the heathenish Saxons had every
where suppressed and destroyed; and he himself under-
took to rebuild the Metropolitcal Church at York, with
those in the Province.

Uther or Uter †, to whom Geofry of Monmouth has gi-
ven the terrible Surname of Pendragon, succeeded his
other Ambrosius in the Kingdom. In the very Begin-
ning of this King's Reign (An. 490) Osa and Eosa began
to shew their Gratitude for former Favours. Taking
advantage of the Opportunity, they revolted, and, according
to their barbarous Inclinations, wasted and spoiled the
Country as far as York, which they invested. It was
long before the British King came to its Relief,
where, under the very Walls, after an obstinate Resist-
ance, Uter discomfited their whole Army, and took
with the Brothers Prisoners.

The next that came on the British Stage, and bids
fairest for Immortality, is the victorious Arthur ‡;

I 3

who;

* G. Mon. † G. Mon. Polichron. &c. ‡ Nennius, &c.

who, if the Chroniclers of those Times deceive us not, fought twelve Battles with the Saxons, and was successful in all; being, says *William of Malmſbury*, the only Prop and chief Support of his Country.

Arthur was crowned King of *Britain* at eighteen Years of Age (*An. 516*). The Saxons took the Advantage of his Youth to make another Attempt upon *Britain*; the two Princes *Oſa* and *Eoſa*, having eſcaped out of Prison, fled home, returned with a ſtrong Force, and again made themſelves Maſters of the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, which they divided into two Parts; the more Southern was called *Deira*, and the North *Bernicia*. *Arthur* had attacked and defeated them in ſeveral Battles, and ſo far pushed his Conqueſts, that *Oſa* finding himſelf diſtreſſed, committed the South to *Baldolphus* and *Colgrin*, the two Sons of *Ella*, the Founder of the two Kingdoms aforeſaid, and reſerved *Bernicia* to himſelf, in order to defend it againſt the continual Attacks of the more Northern Invaders. *Colgrin* loſt a great Battle to *Arthur*, which put him under the Neceſſity of ſhutting himſelf up in *York*, whiſt the *Britiſh* King immediately marched to beſiege him. *Baldolph*, informed of his Brother's Lot and Flight, ſet forward to relieve him with a Body of 6000 Men; for at the Time of the laſt Battle he was upon the Sea-Coaſt waiting the Arrival of *Childric*, another *Saxon* General, from *Germany*. *Baldolph* was not within ten Miles of *York*, and his Purpoſe was to make a ſpeedy March in the Night-Time and fall upon the unawares; but *Arthur*, having Intelligence of the Deſign, ſent out a Detachment of 600 Horſe and 300 Foot, under the Command of *Codor*, Duke of *Cerrania*, to meet him the ſame Night. *Codor* happening to fall into the ſame Road along which the Enemy was paſſing, made a ſudden Aſſault upon them, which intirely defeated the Saxons and put them to Flight.

Baldolph was exceſſively grieved at this Diſappointment in the Relief intended his Brother, and began to think of ſome other Stratagem to gain Acceſs to him, in which, if he could but ſucceed, he thought he might concert Measures together for their mutual ſatisfactions. In order to accompliſh his Deſign, he ſhaved his Head and Beard, and put on the Habit of a Jeſter, or Minſtel, with a Harp in his Hand. In this Diſguiſe he

walked

walked up and down in the Trenches without Suspicion, playing all the while upon his Instrument like a common Harper. By little and little he advanced nearer the Walls of the City, from whence, being at length discovered by the Centinels, he was drawn up in the Night-Time, and conducted to his Brother. This unexpected, but much-desired Interview caused a great many tender Embraces betwixt them, before they began to consider what Stratagems to make Use of for their Escape. But all seemed desperate, for *Arthur* pushed the Siege on vigorously, hoping to take the Town before the Arrival of the Saxon General, who he knew was bringing a fresh supply from *Germany*. At last, when they were on the Point of surrendering, came News that *Childric* was landed, and had defeated *Codor*, whom *Arthur* had sent to obstruct his Descent, and was marching towards *York* with an Army of brave Soldiers, which he had brought over in no less than 600 Transports. Upon this a Council of War was called, and *Arthur* was advised to raise the Siege and retire to *London*, for Fear of hazarding a Battle in the Winter Time (*An. 520*) with so potent and numerous an Enemy.

But the next Summer, after the bloody Battle on *Baden-Hills*, said by the *Scotch* Historians * to be our *Blakeamore*, where *Arthur* gained a decisive Victory and slew 90,000 of the Enemy, the City of *York* was delivered up to him as soon as ever he approached it. This Battle, says *Gildas*, happened forty-four Years after the Saxons' first Arrival in *Britain*, wherein all the Saxon Generals were slain, and their Army entirely cut to Pieces.

This was the second Siege of *York* remarkable for any Opposition; for though, after the *Romans* leaving the Island, it had been taken by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and then taken from them again by the *Saxons*, yet in neither Case was there much Struggle about it: In the former, the general Consternation was so great amongst the poor deserted *Britons*, that no Resistance could be expected from them; and in the latter, the Fame of the *Saxons'* Valour so terrified these Northern Plunderers, especially after experiencing a little of it, that it was all they could do to get back with Precipitation enough to their own Country.

Arthur,

* *Scotch Chron. Buchanan,*

Arthur, after the Defeat of the *Saxons*, made an Expedition into *Scotland*, in order to destroy that Country from End to End, as the Seat of ancient Enmity against *South Britain*. This, we are told, he would have effected, had not the Interposition of some Bishops prevented him. It seems the *Scots* had just then received the Gospel, and it was represented to *Arthur* that a Christian ought not, on any Pretence whatsoever, to spill the Blood of his Brethren. A Maxim rarely or never followed since.

Arthur, after this Expedition against the *Scots*, retired to *York**, where he first set himself to regulate the Affairs of the Church, again miserably rent and torn by the *Pagan-Saxons*; *Sampson*, or *Sanxo*, the Archbishop, had been expelled, the Churches and Altars all demolished, or else profaned with Heathen Ceremonies. He called an Assembly of the Clergy and People, and appointed *Pyramus*, his Chaplain, Metropolitan of that See. The Churches which lay level with the Ground he caused to be rebuilt, and, what was the chiefest Ornament, saw them filled with Assemblies of devout Persons, says our Author, of different Sexes. The Nobility also, which were driven out of the City by the Disturbances of the *Saxons*, he restored to their former Honours and Habitations.

At this Time (*An. 521*) this great Monarch, his Clergy, all his Nobility and Soldiers, kept his *Christmas* in *York*†, the first Festival of that Kind ever held in *Britain*. *Buchanan* and *Sir Thomas Withrington* severely censure *Arthur's* Conduct in the extravagant Solemnization of this Festival.

The Sense of the former is this: “*Arthur* took up his Residence at *York* for his Winter Quarters, whither resorted to him the prime Persons of the Neighbourhood, and spent the latter End of *December* in Mirth, Jollity, Drinking, and the Vices that are too often the Consequence of them; so that the Representations of the old Heathenish Feasts dedicated to *Saturn* were here again revived; but the Number of Days they lasted were doubled, and amongst the wealthier Sort trebled; during which Time they counted it almost a Sin to treat of any serious Matter. Gifts are sent mutually from and to one another; frequent Invitations pass betwixt Friends,

and

* *G. Men.*

† *Scotch Chron.*

and domestick Offenders are not punished. Our Coun-trymen call this *Yule-tide*, substituting the Name of *Julius Caesar* for that of *Saturn*. The Vulgar are yet persuaded that the Nativity of Christ is then celebrated, but mistakenly; for 'tis plain they imitate the Lasciviousness of *Bacchanalians*, rather than the Memory of *Christ*, then, as they say, born."—Thus far *Buchanan*.

It is easy to see on what Principles this sarcastical Description of the Celebration of *Christmas* is founded. His *Yule-tide*, however, is false quoted: *Yule-tide* is the Word, as *Christmas* is at this Day called in *Scotland*, and as we in the North term *Christmas-Eve*.: As for his Derivation, he might with equal Justice, we believe, have drawn it from *Claudius*, as *Julius Caesar*. It is true, that no Word whatever has puzzled the Antiquaries more than *Yule*; some deriving it from the *Latin* Words *exulo*, *ululo*, *jubilo**, or the *Hebrew*, *Haleluia*. In the *Saxon* Tongue it is called *Gebul*, in the *Danish*, *Uledag*. Mrs. *Elstob*, the celebrated Translator of the *Saxon* Homily †, says the best Antiquaries derive it from the Word *Ol*, *Ale*; which was much used, says she, in their Festivities and merry Meetings ‡. *Ol*, or *Ale*, adds the learned Lady, did not only signify the Liquor they made Use of, but gave Denomination to their greatest Festivals, as this *Gebol*, or *Yule*, at Midwinter, as is plainly to be seen in that Custom of *Whitsun-Ale* at the other great Festival of Midsummer. Bishop *Stillingfleet* has observed, that this Word seems to come from the *Gothick* *Jole*, which in that Language signifies to make merry*. *Bede* tells us, indeed, that the last Day of the Year was observed amongst the Heathen *Saxons* with great Solemnity; illuminating, at that Time, their Houses with Fire and Candles, as an Emblem of the Return of the Sun, and the Lengthening of Days; and Bishop *Stillingfleet* confirms this, by observing, that in the old *Runick Fasti*, a Wheel was used to denote this Festival: But what had the *Saxons* to do with *Julius* for a God; no such Deity being ever known in their Theology? *Buchanan* and our Sir *Thomas* here jump in Opinions; but both may be easily derived

* *Skinner's Ety. Dict.*

† Mrs. *Elstob's Saxon Homily*.

‡ *Christmas* was anciently known at *York* by the Name of *Ycol-girtb-ol*. See the *Sheriffs Riding*.

* *Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac.*

rived from what *Hector Boetius* has recorded of *Arthur*, who says, “ That he and his Knights having recovered *York* from the *Scots* and *Picts*, kept there such a grand *Christmas*, that afterwards fighting again with the *Saxons*, the Soldiers were found so weakened with Intemperance and Superfluity, that their Arrows could hardly pierce the *Saxons* furred Doublets, being able before to strike through their Iron Armour.”

Arthur, after all his Conquests, had the Misfortune to be slain in a Rebellion of his own Subjects, and by the Hands of his own Nephew. From whose Death, Dissentions arising among the *British* Princes, the *Saxons* so far prevailed, as to gain an intire Conquest over all, driving the miserable Remains of the *Britons*, that would not submit to their Yoke, to seek Shelter in the *Cambrian* Mountains; where their Posterity, according to *Welsh* History, have ever remained.

Our *Saxon* Conquerors divided the Territories of the plundered *Britons* into seven Shares, which since is styled the *Heptarchy*, over each presiding a King: But we cannot omit taking Notice here, for the better comprehending the Sequel, that, tho’ the Land was in this Manner divided into seven Kingdoms, and each of their Kings had a Sovereign Command within his own Limits, yet one of them ever seemed superior to the rest; and that Prince, who had the greatest Power or Success in his Wars, was always esteemed the Head, and called the King of *Englishmen*. *

In the Division of the Kingdom of the *Northumbers* †, which is more immediately our Concern, because its Capital was at *York*, contained all that Part of the Island from the *Humber* Mouth to *St. Johnston* in *Scotland*, say some, though others, only to the *Frith* of *Forth*.— This Country, as before noted, was divided by *Oda*, the Son of *Hengist*, into two Parts, *Deira* and *Bernicia*, over both which did *Ida* reign, a lineal Descendant, according to the *Saxon* Genealogy, from their famous God *Woden*, and whom *Malmsbury* styles *Nobilissimus ætate, & viribus integer*. *Ida* left two Sons, to whom he divided his Dominions, and gave *Deira* to *Ella*, whose King.

* *Bede*.

† *Anno ab incarnatione 547, post mortem Hengisti 60. ducatus Northumbrensis in regnum mutatus est. Regnavit ibi primus IDA bene dubie nobilissimus ætate, & viribus integer. Gul. Malm.*

Kingdom took in all from the *Humber* to the *Tyne*; and from *Merca* to *Adda* his other Son, which contained all Northward from that Boundary. Of all the Kingdoms of the *Saxons*, this of *Deira* was of the shortest Continuance; it began by a Division of the whole *Northumbrian* District between the Sons of *Ida*, and was again united under *Osmin*, 91 Years after *Ella*.

York was, at this Period, the Capital of *Deira* only; the District was large, and took in all *Yorkshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Durham*, *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*; and some part of *Northumberland* at first; tho' since, the Country betwixt the *German Ocean*, the *Humber*, and the River *Ure*, now the *East-Riding*, bore that Appellation. The last-named River most certainly retains some Part of the ancient Name, *Deir-went*, being no more than *Deira vel Deirorum flumen*; and lower or hollow *Deira*, which lies betwixt the Sea and the *Humber*, in respect of the higher Country, and because it extends itself like a Neck of Land, the Inhabitants have added the French Words *neffe* which together makes *HOLLAND-NESS*. †

The first of the *Saxon* Kings that we meet with is *Edwin*, King of *Deira*, (*An. 517*) afterwards sole Monarch of the *Angliſſmen*, and justly styled *EDWIN THE GREAT*. This King being converted to Christianity by a Miracle, *Bede* and other Monks are very lavish in his Praises. This King's Life, except a few Passages, being given in the first Volume of the History of the Cathedral Church of *York*, we refer the Reader to it. *Edwin* had, by the wonderful Providence, escaped divers Snares laid for him; had surmounted many Difficulties; and, by Conquest over his Neighbour Princes, had not only joined *Merca* to *Deira*, but was also declared grand Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*: That his Residence was at *York*, cannot be disputed by those that read Venerable *Bede's* History of his Conversion; and it was here he made those *Anglo-Saxon* Laws, which were so well observed, that the same

Harrison's Dissertation of Britain.

Antiquitus sola illa patria, quæ introclusa mari orient. Deira & Humbra Deira vocabatur; nunc vero Eaſtridingia. Deirent, i.e. Deræ vel Deirorum flumen, notorie vocatur. Cava Deira, i.e. altioris, inter mari & Humbram, & quia extenditur inſar additur ab incolis hæc ſyllaba NEſſe, & dicitur vulgariſter HOLLAND-NEſſe. Leland Coll. vita S. Joh. Beverlaci.

same Author tells you, in his Time “ a weak Woman might have travelled with a new-born Babe over the whole Island without the least Molestation.”

In this Time of profound Peace, which the Island enjoyed during *Edwin's* Administration, great Happiness must occur. Strong were the Struggles among the *Saxon* Princes for Superiority; for no sooner were they Masters of the Bonty, but, like Robbers, they fell out about dividing the Spoil. For 250 Years and upwards, few of them died in their Beds; and *England* was all that Time, except this small Interval of *Edwin's* one continued Scene of Blood, and War, and Misery. So great was the Power and Virtue of this Monarch, that *William of Malmſbury* gives him this high Character: “ Not only, says he, the *English*, *Scots*, and *Picts*, but even the *Orcades* and all the *British* Islands, dreaded his Arms and adored his Grandeur: No public Thief or House-breaker was found in his Time; the Adulterer was a Stranger, and the Spoiler of other Men's Goods afar off: His Glory shines, even to our own Age, with Splendor.” * *Bede* says, his Magnificence was so great that he had not only in Battle the Ensigns proper to War borne before him, but in Times of Peace, in his Progress thro' the Cities and great Towns of his Kingdoms, or whenever he appeared in Public, that kind of Standard by the *Britons* called *Tufa*, and the *Saxons* *Thuuf*, the Mark of Sovereignty over the Island, was carried before him with great Solemnity.

But neither *Edwin's* Power nor his Piety could save him from the Stroke so fatal to the *Saxon* Princes in those Days. He had many secret Enemies who malign'd his Greatness, but yet dreaded his Power too much to dare to shew it openly. One of these invidious Opponents, whom *Bede* calls *Quichelme*, King of the *West Saxons*, had suborned a *Russian* to murder *Edwin*, who the Villain undertook to do in the Midst of his Church. The Accident happening in our Neighbourhood, we cannot not escape our Notice.

* *Angli, Scoti, Picti, sed & insulae Orcadum & Menetiae qui nunc Anglesci, i. e. Anglorum insulas dicimus, & arma quae tuerunt & potestatem adorarunt. Nullus tunc praedo publicus, latro domesticus, insidiator conjugalium pudoris procul, expilator hereditatis exul. Magnum id in ejus laudibus & nostra aetate* *dum, Gul, Malmſ.*

Edwin had a Summer Retreat (*An. 626*) seven Miles from York, formerly a Roman Station, called *Derwentio*, adding, says *Bede*, *juxta amnem Doroventionem, ubi tunc Villa Regalis*. Edwin was at this Place when the Assassin arrived, and begged Audience of the King, who readily granted it *; pretending secret Business, he took Edwin a little aside from his Guards, and slyly drawing a two-edged poisoned Weapon †, which he had brought for surer Work, he attempted the Murder with such Resolution, that he wounded the King (tho' not mortally) through the very Body of one of his Guards, who by Chance saw the Villain's Design, and had only Time to throw himself betwixt to intercept the Stroke. The Name of this, properly called, Life-Guard Man, was *Ala*, whom *Bede* has handed down to Posterity; and the Assassin's Resolution was such, that he was not cut in Pieces before he had slain another Knight of the Guard, called *Fortber*. But

Edwin's peaceable Reign of seventeen Years now drew a fatal Period, for he was slain in a most bloody Battle, in a Place since called *Heavenfield* ‡, (*An. 633*) by *Penda*, the Pagan King of *Mercia*, who had joined with *Cadwalllo*, the now only *British* King of *Wales*, in order to destroy him. This Victory is reported to be more cruel than any in the Monuments of History; for whilst *Penda* endeavoured to root out the Christians, and *Cadwalllo* the Saxons, their Fury was so great that it spared neither Sex nor Age §. The Head of *Edwin* was buried in *St. Gregory's* Porch in his own Church at *York*, but his Body in the Monastery at *Whitby*.

The Kingdom of *Northumberland*, and its Capital *York*, was ravaged in a terrible Manner after the Loss of this Battle with their King; and though the *Northumbrians* chose *Osrick* and *Anfrid*, the nearest Relations of *Edwin*, Kings, one of *Deira*, the other of *Bernicia*, his

Vol. I. K only

* *Sax. Annals*.

† *Sica biceps toxicata*. *Bede*. *Sica genus armorum est, simile vidui, i. e. visudubii*. *Sica* étoit une petite épée courbée en forme de faux, que le portoient les Thraces. *Mons. Dacier's* Notes on *Horace* and the Word *Sicarius*.

‡ Called so, no Doubt, by the Number of Christians slain there. The Place corrupted to *Hatfield*, a Village nigh *Doncaster*. *Dicitur autem, quod Hatfield rubeo undique nobilium cruce funebat; ibi namque mirabilis & inopinata fortissimorum strages facta est*. *Brompton, & Buch*.

only Son having been slain with his Father, yet could not put a Stop to the Victors; for we are told that *Ofrick* venturing rashly to besiege *Cadwalla* in *York* with an Army of undisciplined Troops, the *Welsh* King, disdainingly to be thus braved, sallied out, and attacked him so briskly in his Trenches, that he put his Army to the Rout, and left him dead on the Spot. *Anfrid*, the other Brother, met the same Fate by the same Hand. The Reigns of these two Kings were of so short a Continuance, besides their Lives being branded with Apostacy, that the Monkish Historians have for the most Part omitted them. *Bede* says that, for their Apostacy from the Christian Religion, they had the just Judgment of God inflicted upon them. *Ofrick*, says he, and his whole Army, penned in the Suburbs of their own City, were miserably slain; and *Anfrid* unadvisedly coming to *Cadwalla* at *York*, with only twelve Persons in his Retinue, in order to treat of Peace, was cruelly put to Death by this outrageous Tyrant in that City, Anno 634.

Oswald, the Successor and Brother of *Anfrid*, revenged his Death upon *Cadwalla*; for coming unexpectedly upon him from *Scotland* with a very small Army, but great in the Faith of *Christ*, says *Bede*, at *Dennistown*, in *Northumberland*, he obtained a decisive Victory over *Cadwalla*, destroying both the *British* King and all his Army. *Oswald* after this was sole Monarch over the *Northumbers*. The many religious Acts he did in our City claim another Place; and we have nothing to add here but his great Character from *Bede*; who says, "In his Time the whole Island flourished both in Peace and Plenty, and acknowledged their Subjection to him: All the Nations of *Britain*, who spoke four different Languages; that is to say, the *Britons*, *Red-Shanks*, *Scots*, and *Englishmen*, were wholly subject to him; and yet being advanced to such an exalted Greatness, he was, what is wonderful to speak of, adds our Author, humble to all, gracious to the Poor, and bountiful to Strangers."

That this great Monarch's Seat of Residence was at *York*, is fully proved in our Church History; but neither his Religion nor his innate Goodness could protect him from the Fate of *Edwin* and the two Apostates, his Predecessors; for we read that *Penda*, King of *Mercia* (the Christians old Antagonist) declared War against

Oswald

Oswald, met him at a Place called *Maserfield**, and in a bloody Battle slew him. The Cruelty of this Monster extended beyond Death, for he ordered *Oswald's* Body, in a barbarous and brutish Manner, to be torn in Pieces by wild Horses, Anno 642.

There is nothing remarkable from the Reign of *Egbert*, the first universal Saxon Monarch, except that our Kingdom continued the Metropolis of the Northern Kingdom, and usually ran the same Fate with its Governors. A short Account of the Succession of these fighting and dying Monarchs may not be improper to give, because it continues the Thread of our History, and we will beg Leave to take them from the first.

A complete Succession of the Northumbrian Kings in Heptarchy. †

C. BERNICIA.

A. C. DEIRA.

1. *Ida*, the Son of *Eoppa*, reigned 12 Years, and had both the Kingdoms.

2. *Adda*, or *Odda*, his Son, 5 Years.

559. *Ella*, another Son, 3 Years.

3. *Clappa*, 7 Years.

4. *Theodwulf*, 1 Year.

5. *Frothwulf*, 7 Years.

6. *Theodoric*, 7 Years.

7. *Æthelric*, 2 Years.

These two last were the Sons of *Ida*, and reigned in this Province whilst *Ella* continued King of *Deira*.

Æthelric, on the Death of *Ella*, had both the Kingdoms, and reigned 5 Years.

589. *Edwin*, Son of the same, was in a short Time expelled by *Æthelfrid*, King of *Bernicia*, who subjected both the Kingdoms, and reigned 14 Years, till *Edwin* was restored.

K 2

Æthel-

From this Overthrow, called *Oswaldfree* in *Shropshire*.

N. B. This Chronological Table is taken out of *Tyrrel's* History of England, and published in Latin at the End of *Dr. Hick's* *Curus Linguarum Septem*. We here alter some of his Dates, and Reader may observe, in his Succession of Danish Rulers, that Course of our Angles contradicts their Positions in some Places.

A. C. } *Ætbelfrid* reigned 24 Years, and was in Possession of both the Kingdoms.

593. }
617. *Edwin*, the Son of *Ella*, 17 Years, had likewise both Kingdoms; but being slain, his Empire was divided into two; for at that Time reigned in *BERNICA*, *A. C.* *DEIRA*.

634. *Osric*, the Son of *Alfred*, 1 Year. 634. *Eanfred*, Son of late King *Eadwig*.

Both slain in one Year.

634. *Oswald*, the Brother of *Eanfred*, reigned 9 Years in both Provinces, being slain,

642. *Oswyn*, the Brother of *Oswald*, reigned 9 Years in *Bernicia*. 644. *Oswyn*, Son of *Oswald*, reigned 7 Years in *Deira*, and was then slain by

651. *Oswyn*, lately mention'd, who entered upon both the Kingdoms, which, from that Time, continued united. He reigned 28 Years; then

670. *Egfrid*, his lawful Son, reigned 15 Years. Slain

685. *Alfred*, Bastard, Son to *Oswyn*, 19 Years. Buried at *Driffeld*. After him

704. *Oswad*, his Son, a Child of eight Years old. He says after he had reigned 11 Years he was murdered; but *Brompton* writes, that he was fortunately slain in a Battle by his Kinsman.

715. *Kenred*, who ruled *Northumberland* 2 Years; then

717. *Osric*, his Brother, who reigned 11 Years, elected, for his Successor,

728. *Ceolwulph*, the Kinsman of *Kenred*. Venerable *Bede* wrote his History in this King's Reign, and dedicated it to him. This Monarch turned Monk, and to him succeeded, after eight Years.

736. *Egbert*, Cousin-German to *Ceolwulph*, who reigned peaceably 20 Years, then turned Monk; which was much in Fashion in those Days among the rest of the Saxon Monarchs in the Heptarchy. Then came

756*. *Oswald*, slain by his Subjects in the first Year of his Reign.

757. *Ethelwald*, surnamed *Mollo*, usurped; but after 3 Years he was murdered by

* *Anno 741 igni incensum est Eboracum. Chron. Saxon.* 55

C.

8. *Alfred*, who, says *Hoveden*, was driven out of his capital City *EVERWIC**, in *Easter Week*, after he had reigned 11 Years; and the *Northumbrians* chose
9. *Edelred*, the Son of *Mollo*, who was also, in the fifth Year of his Reign, deprived, and
4. *Athelwold* proclaimed King; who, after 11 Years, was slain by
6. *Ofred*, who succeeded, but he was driven out by his Nobles the same Year; or taken, says *Milton*, and forcibly shaven a Monk at *York*.
Alfred, or *Athelred*, again restored, and after four Years was miserably slain. From which Time the Kingdom of *Northumberland* was sorely shaken with Civil Wars for forty Years together; during which Time there ruled, without the Title of King, as some write,
- Eardulf*; but the *Saxon Chronicle* says, that he was consecrated King at *York*, May 4, 795, by *Eanbald*, Archbishop, *Ethelbert*, *Higbald*, and *Baderwulf*, Bishops. †
- Alfwold*, *Eandred*, *Etheldred*, *Readulph*. This last, says *Stow*, was slain at *York* with
10. *Osbert*, King, removed by
- Ella*, the Usurper. Both these Kings were slain at *York* by the *Danes*.
66. *Egbert*, sole Monarch of the *English*, driven out by the *Danes*, who gave the Kingdom of *Northumberland* to their Countryman
- Rigsidge*. He ruled it 11 Years, then another *Egbert*, a *Saxon*, was made King by them.
12. *Egbert*, who dying, the *Danes* and *Northumbrians* were without a King till
- Guthrum*, or *Guthred*, a poor Slave, was elected, to whom the *Brigantes* were subjected for 11 Years, till
34. *Alfred* the Great drove the *Danes* in *England* to the last Extremity, and made them chuse in *Northumberland* another
2. *Rigsidge* for King, who being slain,

K 3

903. Re-

* Chron. Saxon. 774.

† Idem, p. 66.

- A. C.* } *Reginald and Nigel, both Danes, reigned together, and had the whole Kingdom after Alfred's Death. Nigel being slain,*
 903. }
 914. *Sithrick, his Brother, took his Share. After these Danes succeeded, viz.*
 919. *Inguald.*
 926. *Guthford.*
 944. *Anlaf, the last of the Northumbrian Kings in the Heptarchy.*

The Danes * were a fierce, hardy, and warlike People next Neighbours to the Saxons in their own Country and had long envied their Happiness in the Possession of the greatest and wealthiest Island in the then known world. Encouraged to hope for Success by the continual Division amongst the Saxon Rulers, they had several Times made Descents upon the Island, but were always driven back with Loss. In the Reign of Egbert they drew together all their Forces; and as they were at that Time, the best Sailors in the World, they fitted out a mighty Fleet, with a numerous Land Army on board; encouraged doubly by the extraordinary Revolution which had just happened in England, and the Expectation of a general Revolt in their Favour, as far as they should land in the Northern Parts. This Design proved abortive; they made a Descent, 'tis true, in the Year 794, and burnt the Monastery of Lindisfarne, or Holy-Island; but finding the Natives not so stir as they expected, they went off again with a great Booty. Always discouraged at this, they made several other attempts in other Parts of the Island, and at length prevailed; for, having gotten a Taste, they never desisted till they had intirely dispossessed the Saxons of it.

It was this black Storm from the North which *Alcuin* prophetically speaks of, in a Letter to *Egbert* or *Egbert*, King of Northumberland, in these Words: *What can be the Meaning, says he, of that Shower of Blood which, in Lent, we saw at York, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, near St. Peter's Church, descending with great Horror from the Roof of the North Part of the House in a clear Day? May not one imagine that this presages Destruction and Blood to us from that Quarter?* †

* *Daniel's History of England,*† *Leland's Coll,*

Letter was wrote from *France* to *Egbert*, near fifty Years before the first *Danish* Invasion, Anno 740; and whether we believe the Prodigy, or that this Man was a Prophet, it is certain the Event fulfilled the Prediction; for never was Blood more cruelly spilt than in this War, nor did any Part of *England* feel it so sensibly as the City of *York*.

In the Year 867* the *Northumbrians* had revolted from *Ethelred*, sole Monarch of *England*, and chose for their King one *Osbert*, or *Osbrightrus*. This *Osbert*, says *Rapin*†, kept his Court at *York*. Returning one Day from Hunting, the King had a Mind to refresh himself at the House of a certain Earl, named *Bruern-Bocard*, Guardian of the Sea-Coasts against the Irruptions of the *Danes*. The Earl happening to be from home, his Lady, to whose charming Beauty was joined the most engaging Behaviour, adds our *Frenchman*, entertained her Sovereign with the Respect due to his Quality. *Osbert*, quite overcome with the Sight of so much Beauty, resolved, let the Consequence be what it would, to satisfy his Passion without Delay. Accordingly, on Pretence of having some Matters of Importance to communicate to her in the Earl's Absence, he led her insensibly into a private Room, where, after several Attempts to bring her to comply by fair Means, he fell at length to downright Force. After the Commission of this infamous Deed, he left the Countess in such Excess of Grief and Vexation, that it was not possible for her to hide the Cause from her Husband.

Bruern‡ being nobly born, and very powerful in Kindred, soon called together the Heads of them in Consultation; and giving them to understand the base Usage of the King, he told them he positively resolved, at any Rate, to be revenged: His Relations and Friends came readily into his Measures, and went along with him to *York*. When the King saw the Earl, he, in a very obliging Manner, called him to him; but the Earl, backed with his Troop of Friends, immediately gave a bold Defiance to *Osbert*, and all Homage, Faith, Lands, or whatever else he held of, or owed him, from that Time gave up; saying, that for the future he never more would

* Vide Chron. Saxon, hoc anno. † *Rapin's History of England*.

‡ *Brempton*.

would obey so scandalous a Master; and without more Delay he and his Friends retired. How well he kept his Resolution, will plainly appear in the Sequel.

Bruern had great Interest with the *Northumbrians*, and this base Action of *Osbert's* was naturally apt to alienate the Minds of his Subjects from him. Accordingly, by the Management of this Earl, the *Bernicians* in a little Time revolted; and looking upon *Osbert* as unworthy to govern, they elected another King, called *Ella*, into the Throne, with a Resolution to support him in it. Thus, says *Rapin*, the old Divisions which seemed to be quite laid asleep, were set on Foot again, and *Northumberland* once more divided betwixt two Kings, and two Factions; who, continually aiming at one another's Destruction, were but too successful in their Endeavours.

A Civil War was the fatal Consequence of this Division. The two Kings did what they could to decide the Controversy by Arms, but the Equality of their Forces prevented the Scale from turning on either Side, and they both kept their Ground. Earl *Bruern* was heartily in *Ella's* Interest; and one would think his Revenge might have been satisfied in dispossessing *Osbert* of Half of his Dominions; but it was by no Means complete whilst he saw him on the Throne of *Deira*; and therefore since it would be, as he rightly judged, a difficult Matter to carry it any further without a foreign Aid, his rash and inconsiderate Passion hurried him to a fatal Resolution, and he immediately sailed for *Denmark*, in order to beg an Assistance, which was but too readily granted him. He represented to the King the present distracted State of the *Northumbrian Kingdom*, and let him see that, if he would make Use of the Opportunity, he might with Ease become Master of it.

The King of *Denmark*† readily came into an Enterprize, which his Ambition and Revenge spurred him on to. His Revenge was on Account of *Lothbroch*, or *Lothbrog*, a *Danish* General, the Father of *Hinguar* and *Habbe*,
who

* *Rapin* calls him *Ivar*, or *Hinguar*; but *Brompton*, *Codrin*.

† *Ivar*, says *Rapin*, very readily came into an Enterprize, which the Desire of Revenge, as well as his Ambition spurred him on to; *Regnerus*, his Father, having been taken Prisoner in *England*, was thrown into a Ditch full of Serpents, where he miserably perished.

This whole Sentence, with Submission to that great Historian, is a Mistake, as the Consequence will shew.

who being driven, by Accident, on the Coast of *Norfolk*, in a small Fishing-Boat, was taken and sentenced, as he had been informed, to be thrown into a Ditch full of Serpents, where he miserably perished. Concerting Measures therefore with *Bruern*, the *Danish* King got ready a mighty Fleet against the Spring, and constituted the two Brothers, *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, his Generals. They entered the *Humber* with this Fleet, which was so great, that it spread a Terror all over *England*; *Bruern* was their Conductor; and as the *Northumbrians* were wholly ignorant of the Design, they were in no Readiness to dispute their Landing. They soon became Masters of the Northern Shore, and having burnt and destroyed the Towns and Inhabitants on the *Holderness* Coast, they marched directly towards *York*, where *Osbert* was drawing an Army together to oppose them.

In this great Extremity *Osbert* applied to *Ella*, tho' his Enemy, for his Assistance, who willingly agreed to drop his private Quarrel, and join Forces against the common Enemy; accordingly he proceeded with all possible Expedition to bring a powerful Reinforcement. If *Osbert* could have brought himself to have staid at *York*, says *Rapin*, till *Ella's* Arrival, he would doubtless have embarrassed the *Danish* Generals, who, by that Means, would have been forced to oppose their Enemies in two Places at once; but his great Courage would not let him go so safe a Way to Work. Perhaps it was with Regret that he saw himself constrained to have Recourse to his mortal Foe for Aid; or it may be, he feared some Treachery. However this, adds our Author, he sallied out of *York*, and attacked the *Danes* so vigorously, that they had much ado to stand the Shock, and were very near being put in Disorder: But their obstinate Resistance having at length slackened the Ardour of their Enemies, they pushed them in their Turn, and compelled them at last to retire, without any Order, into the City. *Osbert*, desperately vexed to see the Victory snatched out of his Hands when he thought himself sure of it, used all his Endeavours to rally his broken Troops again, but was slain in the Retreat with Abundance of his Men.

This Victory opened the Gates of *York* to the *Danes*, who entered the City in order to refresh themselves, says *Rapin*,

Rapin, whilst *Ella* was advancing in Hopes of repairing the Loss *Osbert* had suffered by his too great Haile. *Hinguar* having just triumphed over one of the Kings, and not believing the other to be more formidable, spared him some Trouble by going to meet him. This Battle was no less fatal to the *English*, *Ella* lost his Life, and his Army was intirely routed. Some say this Prince, adds our Author, was not slain in Battle, but taken Prisoner; and *Hinguar* ordered him to be flayed alive in Revenge for his Father's Murder.

Rapin has been the Author chiefly from whence we have copied the History of the last memorable Event, whom we chuse to follow as well for his Diction as Matter; but from what Authority he claims it we know not, for four ancient and creditable Writers of *English* History give almost a different Account of this whole Transaction, except in the Case of the Rape, which is recorded by *Brompton*. We have also taken the Liberty to alter some of his Proper Names, as we found them miscalled; and as to his last Conjecture, that *Ella* was taken Prisoner, and used in that barbarous Manner by *Hinguar*, in Revenge for his Father's Murder, it would have been a great Mistake if he had asserted it; for it was *Edmund*, King of the *East-Angles*, who was the supposed Murderer, and paid dearly for it afterwards, being tied to a Tree and shot to Death by the *Danes* with Arrows. The Spring of this great Revolution in the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, and after in all *England*, with the Consequences of it to our City, we shall beg Leave to give from the Authorities in the Notes. *

Brompton writes, that *Lothbroch* †, the Father of *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, being fishing and fowling in a small Boat, singly, on some of the *Danish* Coasts, was driven by a sudden Tempest out to Sea, and, after a dangerous Passage, was thrown ashore in his Boat on the *Norfolk* Coast in *England*: He had no Creature with him but his Hawk and his Dog; and being found, was presented to *Edmund*, King of the *East-Angles*. *Edmund* was taken with his graceful Presence, and, hearing his Story, he took him into his Court; where *Lothbroch*, being a true Sport-

* *Brompton*. H. Hunt. S. Dunelm. Asser. Men. R. Hoveden.

† *Lothbroch*, *Anglice*, *Leatherbreech*, or *Roughbreeches*. This Story is given by the Translator of *Rapin*.

portfman, was associated with *Bern*, the King's Huntsman, and partock with him in all those Diversions.

It was not long before he shewed his Dexterity in all kinds of rural Sports to be much superior to the Huntsman's, and was mightily in the King's Favour for it. This *Bern* grew uneasy at, and resolving to get rid of so troublesome a Rival, he took an Opportunity to draw *Lothbroch* aside into a Thicket, where the Villain slew him, and hid the Body: The next Day the King inquiring for *Lothbroch*, was told by *Bern*, that he lost him in the Woods, and had not seen him since. Some Days passed when *Lothbroch's* Dog, half starved, came to the Palace, and, being fed, goes away again. Doing thus several Times, the King's Servants took Notice of it, and, following the Dog, were brought to the Sight of the dead Body. *Bern* was charged with the Murder, tried, and found guilty of it. The Sentence the King passed on him was to put him into *Lothbroch's* Boat, and, without Tackling, Sails, or Provisions, to commit him to the Mercy of the Seas. The Boat, as if it knew its Way back, was thrown upon the *Danish* Coast, where *Bern* being apprehended as an *Englishman*, and carried to the King, he informed him of *Lothbroch*; and in a malicious Lye told him, that *Edmund*, on his Landing, had ordered him to be immediately thrown into a Ditch full of Serpents.

This Accident happening before the *Saxon* Nobleman's Arrival in order to draw the *Danish* King to invade *Northumberland*, in Revenge for the Ravishing of his Wife by *Osbert*, made the *Dane* more ready to embrace it. Getting together a mighty Fleet they set Sail, and entered the *Humber* with Safety; and landing their forces as near *York* as they could, they marched directly to it, and took it with much Ease: The Walls of the City, says an Historian *, being in a weak Condition at that Time, occasioned by the former *Saxon* Wars. *Osbert* and *Ella* having upon this Occasion joined their forces, marched to attack the *Danes*, even in the City itself, where a cruel Fight ensued in the very Midst of it. The two Kings having beat down the Walls, fell upon the *Danes* with such Fury, that they made a prodigious

* Non enim tunc adhuc illa civitas firmos et stabilitos muros illis temporibus habebat. Affer, Meneven.

digious Slaughter of them, and drove them to the last Extremity. Their Despair at this Time occasioned their Victory, says our Authors; for pressing in their Turn, the Saxons lost Ground, and their two Kings happening to be slain, the Victory intirely fell to the Danes. In this Conflict the City was wholly destroyed by the enraged Barbarians, and in it not only all the Inhabitants, but all those who, upon the News of the Invasion, sought Refuge there, miserably perished. The Battle, says *A. Hoveden*, was fought on the 21st of March, Anno 867. *Affer. Menevensis* describest his dreadful Calamity in this Manner: "By the General's cruel Orders they knocked down and cut the Throats of all the Boys, young and old Men, that they met in the Streets of the City. Matrons and Virgins were ravished at Pleasure. The Husband and Wife, either dead or dying, were tossed together. The Infant, snatched from its Mother's Breast, was carried to the Threshold, and there left butchered at its Parent's Door, to make the general Outcry more hideous."

Brompton differs somewhat from the other Historians in the Description of this Battle, and says that *Ella* was not slain with *Osbert*; but was so little concerned, that having been hunting the Day after the Battle was fought, as he sat at Dinner he chanced to say, "We have had great Luck to take four Deer and six Fawns To-day," to which Words an Express, that was just arrived, answered: "My Lord, if you have had such Luck To-day, and gain'd so much, you Yesterday lost an hundred Times more; for the Danes have taken the City of York, and slain *Osbert*, and are just entering your Dominions to do the like to you." *Ella* at this starting up, collected his Forces, and marched towards York with great Expedition. The Danes were aware of his coming, and met him to the utter Destruction of him and his. The Place where the Battle was fought, *non longe ab Eboraco*, says our Author, is called to this Day *Ella's Croft**; that is, *Ella's Overthrow*.

* There is no Place, in or near the City, that this Name can be fixed upon, except it be corrupted to *Ling-Croft* near Foulford. It is certain there is no Ling growing on it, nor probably ever was, the Soil being a dry Sand cannot naturally produce that Plant. Ling does certainly here import another Meaning; for Dr. Skinner says it is a Word *Quod qualitatem notat, et pertinere aut spectare ad aliquem est*. Skinner's Etym. Dict.

The Danes having reduced the Kingdom of Northumberland to their Obedience, and put an End to the Saxon Rule there, after it had continued in their Possessions for 300 Years, *Hinguar* gave the Command of it to his Brother *Hubba*, and constituted him at the same time Governor of York. The two Brothers then pushed their Conquests Southward, where we shall not follow them; but observe that *Hubba* made one *Godram* or *Guthburn**, a Danish Officer, his Deputy to act in his absence, and left a Garrison under him in the City. There is a Street in York which still retains the Name of this Captain, called GODRAM or GUTHRAM-GATE, which Tradition tells us comes from a Danish General's residing in it; and as it lies near where the old Royal Palace once stood, it is not improbable that this was the true Derivation.

But the Danes were not willing to trust the Government of the Northumbrian Kingdom under any other Form than Kingly: Accordingly at their Return to York from their Southern Conquest, the two Brothers, *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, constituted one *Egbert*, a Saxon, but one entirely devoted to their Service, King of Northumberland. At this Time, *An. 870*, says Sir *John Spelman*†, the Danish Generals, with their whole Army, resided at York, where they indulged themselves in all Kinds of Violence, and barbarous Treatment of the People; the Blood of Men, Women, and Children was daily shed to make them Sport; Corn and other Provisions they wasted in for above a Year together, says our Author, damaging more than they consumed.

Egbert was soon deprived of his Sovereignty, and one *Rigsige*, or *Ricsfusus*, a Dane, had the Government conferred upon him; but he being murdered by the Populace at York, according to *Simeon of Durham*, *Egbert* was again restored. This held not long neither, for the Danes still advancing in Power, and having no Dread of the Natives, the large and rich Kingdom of Northumberland was cantoned out amongst their own Officers; and we find in the Reign of *Edward the Elder*, three Kings

VOL. I

L

cf

* This *Guthburn* turned Christian, and, when baptized, *Alfred* the Great was his Godfather, who gave him the County of *East-Anglia*, which he governed, or rather spoiled, for twelve Years. *Hek. Chron.*

† *Spelman in vita Alfredi Magni.*

Danish Race possessed it. In 877 *Sitbrick* and *Nigel* his Brother reigned beyond the *Tyne*, and *Reginald* had the City of *York*, with all the Country betwixt the Rivers *Tyne* and *Humber*. These Kings were at last compelled to submit to the Arms of the victorious *Athelstan*, the Successor of the last-named *Edward*, and doing Homage, were permitted to keep their Possessions. *Sitbrick*, one of them, had his Daughter in Marriage, on Condition he would turn Christian.

This Calm lasted a very small Time, for *Sitbrick* dying the first Year of his Marriage, (*An.* 926) his Sons *Godfrey* and *Anlaff**, offended that their Pagan Gods were neglected, by Means of their Father's last Wife, stirred up the *Northumbrian Danes* to Rebellion: This Attempt brought *Athelstan* upon them so suddenly, that the two Sons of *Sitbrick*, with *Reginald*, had much ado to escape falling into his Hands at *York*. He took the City, and with it all *Northumberland* submitted, except the Castle of *York*, which being then prodigiously strong, and well manned with *Danish* Soldiers, held out a long Time: For we are told that *Godfrid*, by Means of his Friends in the Garrison, made an Attempt upon *York*, but did not succeed in it. What End *Reginald* made †, we know not; but the two Brothers, *Godfrid* and *Anlaff*, having been disappointed in their last Attempt, one fled into *Scotland*, and the other into *Ireland*, in order to gain Aid and try their Fortunes once more. They succeeded so well, that they drew along with them a vast Multitude of *Irish*, *Scotch*, and even *Welsh* Soldiers, with their respective Kings at their Head, who all had Reason to fear the growing Greatness of *Athelstan*. Entering the *Humber* with a Fleet of 600 Sail, whilst *Athelstan* was carrying on the War in *Scotland*, they landed their Forces and marched to *York* before the King had any Intelligence of the Matter. They soon raised the Siege of the Castle, which *Athelstan* had turned into a Blockade; but durst not attempt to take the City, hearing that *Athelstan* was on his March against them. As a Battle was to be fought, and trusting in their Numbers, they

* *Ropin.*

† The *Saxon Chronicle* says that, *Anno* 924, King *Reginald* won the City of *York* by Assault, *expugnauit Eboracum*. *Gibson's Saxon Chronicle*,

they went from York to meet him, and at *Brunanburgh*, since called *Bromford*, in *Northumberland*, a most bloody Engagement ensued, where *Athelstan* gained a complete Victory, and slew *Constantine*, King of *Scotland*, five petty Kings of *Ireland* and *Wales*, twelve General Officers, and destroyed their whole Army.

Athelstan, at his Return to York from this Victory, (An. 937) razed the * Castle to the Ground, lest it should be any more a Nursery of Rebellion; and being now sole Monarch of *England*, he conferred those Honours on the Churches of *St. John* of *Beverley*, and *St. Wilfrid* at *Ripon*, which the Monkish Histories are so full of. Our own Historians sicken not to say, that this Victory made him King of the whole Island; but *Buchanan* here sticksles for his Country, and seems to sneer at the Credulity of the *English*, who are so wise as to believe it. *Athelstan*, however, died in perfect Tranquillity, and, not having Issue of his own, left his whole Dominions to *Edmund*, the eldest of the legitimate Sons of *Edward*, surnamed the *Elder*. †

This Prince was very young at his coming to the Crown, (An. 937) which encouraged the *Northumbers*, ever prone to rebel, to hope for a Revolution in their Favour. They sent to invite *Anlaff* from *Ireland*, whither he had had the good Luck to escape from the last Battle, to come over and head them. But *Anlaff* wisely knowing that an Invasion without strong Assistance from some foreign Power, would be of no Service, set himself about once more to obtain it; and found Means to draw over *Olaus*, King of *Norway*, to his Interest, with a large Promise of Money if he succeeded. With the Troops and Shipping furnished by this King he once more entered the North, and coming before York, the Gates were immediately opened to him, by Means of the good Understanding he had with the principal Inhabitants, who were then most if not all of them *Danish*. † The Example of the Metropolis was soon followed by several other Towns in that District, whose Garrisons were either driven out or cut in Pieces by the

L 2

In-

* *Athelstanus interea Castrum, quod olim Dani in Eboraco obsiderant, ad solum diruit, ne esset quod se tutari posset perfidia. Gul. Meldunensis.*

† *Speed.*

† *Rapin.*

Inhabitants; and thus got *Anlaff* entire Possession of *Northumberland*; and, not content, was stretching his Conquest farther, and attacked *Mercia*. But

Edmund, the *English* King, though not above seventeen or eighteen Years old, was not backward in his Preparations to stop the Progress of this bold Invader; and having raised an Army, he met *Anlaff* at *Chester*, where an obstinate Battle was fought with such Equality that neither Side could brag of Victory. Resolving to try it out next Day, a Peace was concluded by the Mediation of *Odo* and *Wolstan*, the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, who laboured all Night to obtain it. By this Treaty *Edmund* was obliged to give up to *Anlaff* all the Country North of the *Roman Highway* which divides *England* into two equal Parts. This Concession of *Edmund's* was highly dishonourable, but the two Bishops prevailed on him to accept it; and thus got *Anlaff* a larger Share of *Britain* than his Father *Sinrick* ever possessed.

Yet his Glory was short-lived, for the *Northumbrians* vexed at a Tax he had imposed on them, in order to pay off the great Subsidy due to the King of *Norway* for his Aid and Assistance, revolted again. The ancient Kingdom of *Bernicia* first shewed the Way, by sending for *Reginald*, Son to his Brother *Godfrid*, and crowning him King at *York*. Once more a Civil War was hatching betwixt the Uncle and Nephew, and the *English* King might have laid hold of this Opportunity to have destroyed them both, but he did no more than come with a great Army and frighten them at once into Peace and Christianity. A Treaty was begun and concluded at *York*, wherein it was stipulated, that *Reginald* should keep the Crown he had got, and *Edmund* obliged them both to swear Fealty to him, as also to turn Christians. The King himself stood Godfather to *Reginald*, who had been baptized at his Confirmation; and to *Anlaff* at the Font. The Ceremony was performed by *Wolstan*, then Archbishop of this See, in his Cathedral. *

A Religion and Peace, imposed upon them by Compulsion, lasted them not long; and it was a very small Time (*An. 944*) before they took up Arms and broke the latter which shews the former was no Tye to them. *Edmund*

* *Sim. Dun. Hen. Hunt.*

sudden in his coming against them, and marched so
 quick that he surprized them before they could draw a
 sufficient Number of Forces ready to oppose him. In
 short they both fled the Island, and the *Danes* being thus
 deserted by their Leaders, had nothing to do but to
 throw down their Arms and submit to the King's Mer-

This they obtained of him, and *Edmund* took no
 other Revenge on them than to cause their Principals to
 swear Allegiance to him, which they did; however, he
 turned their whole Country to his own Government,
 without the Admittance of any Secondary or Viceroy
 to rule there under him. *

Thus was the Saxon King *Edmund* reinstated into the
 Sovereignty of all *England*, An. 946; but, being taken
 in the Flower of his Age by an unhappy Accident, *Ed-*
red his Brother succeeded him. The turbulent Spirit of
 the *Northumbrian Danes* began now again to shew itself,
 imagining that this King wanted, with the Years, the
 experience of his Brother †; but they found themselves
 mistaken, for *Edred* was not inferior to the former King,
 either in Courage or Conduct; and in this first Affair he
 sufficiently shewed it; for he made such Expedition in
 marching against them, that he got into the Heart of
 their Country before the *Danes* could think that he
 knew their Design. Caught so at Unawares, they had
 nothing to do but to submit to the Conqueror's Mercy,
 which, like that of his Brother, was soon come at; a
 peace, no ways considerable, was all he imposed, they
 promising, with Oaths and Protestations, to be for ever
 obedient and peaceable. But it was not in their Nature
 to keep this Promise, and *Edred* had hardly got back in-
 to the *West-Sex* before they sent over for their old friend *An-*
laff, who had again fled to *Ireland*. He made such
 haste to obey their Summons, and by their Assistance,
 after his Arrival, pushed on his Conquest so fast, that
 he was Master of *York* and all the North, before *Edred*
 could come to oppose him; and when he did come, he
 found it impossible to dislodge him.

In Spight of all that *Edred* could do, *Anlaff* continued
 his Conquest of *Northumberland* four Years after his last Resto-
 ration ‡: But his tyrannical Temper, or their Mutabili-
 ty, occasioned another Revolt; and *Anlaff* was expelled,

L 3

* Speed.

† Rapin.

‡ Rapin, Speed.

and one *Eric* was chose by them in his Room, *An.* 100. This brought on another Civil War. *Anlaff* had yet a Party, and the two Factions endeavouring to destroy one another, gave *Edred* an Opportunity that he well knew how to improve. He marched directly into the North which was all in Confusion, for the *Northumbrians* had taken no Measure to resist him; so eager were they to seek each other's Destruction. At *Edred's* coming he fled into *Scotland*, leaving his People once more to the *Saxon King's* Mercy, who had threatened to destroy the whole Country with Fire and Sword. He began to put his Threats in Execution by burning the Town and Monastery of *Ripon*; but being shocked enough with that, the good King desisted from any further Mischief to them, and suffered himself to be so far amused with their solemn Oaths and Protestations, of which they were no ways sparing, to appease his just Anger, that his generous Disposition not only forgave them their Trespases, but he recalled *Eric* out of *Scotland* to *York*, replaced him on the Throne, and, without imposing any Tribute, took only his Oath of Allegiance.

After *Edred* had thus settled Matters he left *York* and marched Southward with his Army, in a careless and disorderly Manner, not dreading of Danger, nor keeping any Guard against a People he had so lately and so prodigiously obliged. But the *Danes*, to give him a speedy Instance of the wonderful Effects his Clemency had wrought on their Minds, taking Notice of his Negligence and disorderly March, sallied out of *York* in great Numbers after him; and overtaking him at *Castleford**, set upon his Rear with such Fury and Resolution, that had not the King's Valour, Conduct and Management in this nice Juncture been very extraordinary, he and all his Army must infallibly have been cut to Pieces. Enraged at this black Piece of Ingratitude, he once more ordered his Standard to be turned against them, and advanced to the Gates of *York*, in order to make dreadful Examples of these Miscreants to all Posterity. At his coming to the City they beheld him ready to take Vengeance of them; and, not able to make the least Resistance, they, in this Extremity

* *Leland Coll.* It appears by this Rout of the Army, that they followed the *Roman Roads* in those Days.

again had Recourse to their old Subtlety; but being sensible their Oaths and Protestations would go for nothing with the King, they very humbly implored his Pardon on whatever Terms he would be pleased to give it; and, to convince the King they were now in Earnest, they solemnly renounced *Eric*, and put him to Death, along with *Amac*, the Son of *Anlaff*, whom they charged with being the principal Movers in this Treachery.

Edred was so far pacified by these Means as to spare their Lives, but took deep Vengeance on their Purfes; and also took from them the very Power to rebel again, by placing strong *English* Garrisons in their chiefest Towns and Fortresses: He likewise dissolved their Monarchical Government, and turned the ancient Kingdom of *Northumberland* into a Province. What became of *Anlaff*, the last King, we know not; it is probable he died abroad, no Author making Mention of him after *Edred*'s last Expedition into the North. We now drop from a Kingdom to an Earldom, as *Edred* thought fit to alter the Government: The first Earl thereof, by his own Appointment, was one *Osulph*, an *Anglo-Saxon*, or *Englishman*, Anno 951.

The Alteration made in the Government produced a very good Effect; for the turbulent and rebellious Spirit of the *Northumbrian Danes* was so continually awed by *English* Governors and *English* Garrisons, that during the almost constant Wars betwixt the *Saxon* and *Danish* Kings, for near an Age after this, the Northern Parts remained quiet; and *York* continued with its Earls, as *Edred* left it, till the Division of the Kingdom into Shires, and the Vicecomes, or Sheriff, took Place of the real Earl.

The *Scotch* Historians, however, write *, that the total Conquest over the *Saxons* by the *Danes* was gained in a Victory near our City, by *Suwain*, King of *Denmark*, against *Egelred*, King of *England* †, Anno 1010. The *Danes* had pitched their Tents on the Banks of the River *Onse*, not far from *York*, where *Egelred* with an Army, strengthened with a Number of *Scots*, marched to attack them. *Suwain* sent an Herald to warn the *Scots* from fighting, having some Obligation to their King; but

* *Hellingshæad's Scotch Chronicle.* H. Boetius,

† The *English* Historians call him *Ethelred*.

but they refusing, a bloody Battle ensued, in which the *English* and *Scots* were worsted, great Numbers slain, and an entire Victory left to the *Danes*. *Egelred* himself, with some few others, got a Boat, passed over the River *Ouse*, and fled to *Normandy*, leaving his Crown and Kingdom to the Conqueror.

We now come to a Succession of the Earls, or *Comites Northumbriæ*, who had their Residence in *York* as well as the Kings, and had, under Subjection to the Universal Monarch of *England*, the same Authority. We are told that *Edred* first commissioned

Osulph †, who, in the succeeding Reign of *Edgar*, had *Oslac* for a Partner in the Government. *Osulph* took the more Northern Parts; and *Oslac* had *York*, and the Confines of the Province on that Side, committed to his Care. To these succeeded, in the whole,

Waltheof, usually called the Elder, whose Son *Uthred*, or *Uathred*, came after him; then

Hircus, or *Yricus*, made Earl of *Northumberland* by King *Canute*.

Eadulph, surnamed *Cutel*, or *Cudel*; to whom succeeded

Aldred, who being slain,

Eadulph the Second, his Brother, enjoyed it. To all these Historians have affixed no Dates, nor any Particulars relating to their respective Governments, till this Earl was slain by

Siward, Anno 1054. Then succeeded

Tosty, (Anno 1055) Brother to *Harold*, King of *England*, slain at *Stanfordburgh*. Lastly came.

Morchar, (Anno 1065) which deduces the Earls of *Northumberland* to the Norman Conquest.

An historical Account of the three last is much to our Purpose.

Siward Earl of *Northumberland* was the most valiant Man of his Time, and of such uncommon Fortitude and Might, that the *Danes*, says *William of Malmesbury*, surnamed him *DIGERA* §; that is, *the Great*.

This *Siward* was sent, by King *Edward* the Confessor, with an Army of 10,000 *English* Soldiers into *Scotland*,

† *Sim. Dunelm.*

§ *DIGERA*, *Danice*, *magnus*. *ALEXANDER DIGERA*, i. e. *Alexander Magnus*. *Jacob, Serenii Diction, Ang. Sæthic. Lat.*

and, to aid *Malcolm* against the Tyrant *Macbeth*, whom he slew, and set *Malcolm* on the Throne of Scotland.

Siward (*Anno 1055*) fell ill of the Flux at *York*, and being brought to the last Extremity by that Disease, the Warrior cried out *, *Oh what a Shame is it for me, who have escaped Death in so many dangerous Battles, to die like a Beast at last. Put me on my impenetrable Coat of Mail, adds he, gird on my Sword, place on my Helmet, give me my Shield in my Right Hand, and my Golden Battle-Ax in my Left †; thus as a valiant Soldier I have lived, even so I will die.* His Friends obeyed him; which was no sooner done than he expired, and was buried in the Cloister of his own Monastery at *York*. ‡

Siward's Son being in the Cradle at his Father's Death ||, *Tosty*, or *Tosto*, second Son to Earl *Goodwin*, Chief Minister of State to *Edward* the Confessor, found Means to procure this opulent Earldom to himself. He was a Man of the vilest Character in every Point of Life, and ruled over the *Northumbrians* with great Cruelty and Barbarity, imposing numberless Taxations on them for ten Years together. It was a long Time for their stubborn Spirits to bear such Treatment; at length being provoked at his causing certain Noblemen of that Country to be murdered in his own Chamber at *York* §, when he had allured them thither on Pretence of easing their Grievances; as also at another more scandalous Affair of making Minced-Meat of his Brother *Harold's* Servants, their Hearts were so much set against him, that they rose with one Accord in order to rid themselves and the World of such a Monster. The *Northumbrians* came upon *Tosto* so suddenly, that he narrowly escaped their Fury, having just Time to fly from *York*, with his Wife and Children, to the Sea-Coast; from whence he found Means to be conveyed into *Flanders*, (*Anno 1065*) and came no more into *England* during the Confessor's Reign.

Thus

* *Higdeni Polichron.*

† *Sicuris aureus*, or the Golden Battle-Ax, was formerly a Mark of Sovereignty.

‡ *Anno 1055, Strenuus Dux Northanhimbrorum Siwardus Eboraci decessit, et in monasterio Galmanho, quod ipse construxerat sepultus est. Hoveden.*

|| *Parvulus erat in cuneis jacens. Polichron.*

§ The Names of two of them were, *Gamel* the Son of *Ornus*, and *Ulfus* the Son of *Delphinus*. *Sim. Dunelm.*

Thus disappointed of their chief Aim, the Rebels took all the Revenge they could on what he had left behind him. They spoiled and plundered his Palace, broke open his Exchequer, took and converted whatever Money was there to their own Use, drowned some of his Servants in the River Ouse, as *Simeon* says, *ante Muris Civitatis*, and carried off whatever Horses, Armour, or Household Stuff were in or about the Palace.

At the News of this, *Harold*, the Brother of *Tostig*, was sent to reduce the Insurgents; but he having had a finer Taste of his Brother's Cruelty, easily gave into the Justice of their Complaints †; especially when they told him plainly, "That they, being Freemen born and bred out of Bondage, would not suffer any cruel Ruler to lord it over them, being taught by their Ancestors either to live in Liberty or die in Defence of it ‡." Upon which at their own Request, and by the King's Consent, he assigned them one *Morchard*, or *Morchardus*, for their Governor.

Tostig was now an Exile in *Flanders*; but no sooner did he hear of King *Edward's* Death, and his Brother's seizing the Crown, than he prepared to invade him. He mustered a few Forces and Shipping, with which he landed on the *Lincolnshire* Coast; but *Morchard*, the new Earl, soon defeated him. After this Misfortune he sailed to *Scotland*, in Hopes to stir up *Malcolm*, the Scotch King, to invade *England*; and not being able to bring him over, he next solicited *Harold Harfager*, King of *Norway*, with whom he was more successful.

The King of *Norway* and *Tostig* having got all Things in Readiness for their intended Invasion, set Sail for *England* with a mighty Fleet, wherewith they entered the *Humber* ||, and brought their Ships up the River Ouse, as far as *Rickall* or *Rich-Hall*, within eight Miles of *York*.

* Chron. Sax.

† *Tostig*, upon a Quarrel with his Brother, went down to his Country-House and slew all his Servants, who were preparing an Entertainment for the King's coming there. After which he chopped them in Pieces, and cast into this Hogsthead of Wine a Leg, into that Barrel of Cyder an Arm, into this Vessel of Ale a Head, and so bestowed all the dead Carcases into what other Hogstheads of Wine, Mead, &c. he could come at in the House. *H. Hunt. M. W.*

‡ Knighton.

|| *Humbram ingrediuntur et per Ouse fluvium, pene ad Eboracum omnes puppes advebuntur. Ingulphus.*

certain so vast and numerous a Fleet, containing a great Number of Land Forces on board, could be no nearer *York*; and it is wonderful at this Time to say how they could advance so nigh. Having landed their Forces, they marched directly against *York*, which, says *Simcon*, they took by Storm, after a sore Conflict with *Morchar* the Governor, and *Edwin* Earl of *Chester*, his Brother, who had hastily raised a few Men to intercept them †. This Defeat happened the Eve of *St. Matthew*, Anno 1066, at *Fulford*, a Village one Mile South-East of the City, where, says *Huntington*, the Place of Battle is yet shewn. The named Author, with others, alledge that the City was not taken by Storm; but the two Generals being killed, and their small Army being either drowned in the River *Ouse* or cut in Pieces, the City surrendered on Terms; the Inhabitants, wholly unprovided for a Siege, chusing rather to try the Victor's Clemency, than expose themselves to certain Ruin.

Harold, King of *England*, was not backward in his Preparations to stop the Progress of this dangerous Invasion; he brought a powerful Army down to *York*, immediately after the Enemy had taken it. At his Approach they withdrew their Forces from the City, taking with them 500 Hostages of the principal Inhabitants, whom they sent under a strong Guard on board their Ships, leaving, says *Milton*, 150 of their own in it. They intrenched themselves in so extraordinary a Manner, that it seemed a Thing impossible to dislodge them: For they had the River *Derwent* in their Front and on their Right, and, not fordable, with only a Wooden Bridge to pass by. Their Left was flanked by the River *Ouse*; there lay their Navy ready to retire to in Case of Necessity; and their Backs secured by the *German* Ocean. In this Situation they thought themselves safe; but *Harold*, notwithstanding the great Disadvantage, was resolved to attack them in their Trenches; and the Event shews that nothing can be too hard for Valour joined with Conduct. The Fight began by Day-break, and the Attempt to pass the Bridge so desperate, that one single *Norwegian* (for which our Historians have justly made his Fame immortal) stopped the Passage to all *Harold's*

† Chron. Saxon.

Harold's Army for three Hours together, and slew 40 of his Men with his own Hand. The extraordinary Valour of this Hero will hardly be credited by Posterity, says *William of Malmſbury*; for standing in the Midst of the Fight, he suffered none to pass over, and slew all that attempted it, or came within his Reach. Being desired to yield himself up to the *English* King, with large Promises of Reward adequate to such mighty Strength and Valour, he sternly smiled at the Proffer, and despised both it and the Weakness of those that let one single Man resist them all †. At last this hardy Fellow was slain by a Dart thrown at him, say some, or, as others write ‡, by one in a Boat, who got under the Bridge and stabb'd him with a Spear, the *Norwegians* gave Way, dismayed with the Loss of their Champion, and retired to their Trenches, where *Harold's* Army having passed the River, attacked them Sword in Hand, and a most bloody and obstinate Fight ensued.

The afore-mentioned Historian writes, that there had never been seen in *England* an Engagement between two such Armies, each containing 60,000 Men. It lasted from Seven in the Morning till Three in the Afternoon, with all the Fury imaginable, no Quarter being asked or received during this dreadful Conflict. The Victory fell on *Harold*, the *English* King; the King of *Norway* and *Fabian* were slain, and their Army was almost wholly destroyed. For of 5 or 600 Ships that brought them to *England*, not one served to carry back the miserable Remains that were spared from Slaughter, and which the Victor suffered to depart with *Olaus*, the King of *Norway's* Son, and *Patrick* Earl of *Orkney*, who had escaped the Battle by being sent to guard the Ships. *Harold*, however, made them deliver up their Hostages, the Citizens of *York*, safe, and take a solemn Oath never to disturb his Dominions again.

The King of *England* shewed great Magnanimity in this Battle, and, if we may credit our Writers §, the

† It seems by this that there was no Bridge over the *Dever* at *Kerby* when this Battle was fought, else *Harold* might have passed over his Army at that Place, and attacked them in Flank, being only two Miles below the other.

‡ *H. Hunt, M. West, and Knighton* write, *Donec unus Anglus viculam ingressus ipsum Noricum per foramina pontis lancea percussit*.

§ *Fabian's Chron. from Guido.*

the Norwegian King with his own Hand. *Tostig* his Brother, being sought for amongst the dead Bodies, was at length found; but so mangled, that, had not a remarkable Wart betwixt his Shoulders discovered him, he might have served to fill a Pit with the common Soldiers*. He was carried to *York*, and there, ignominiously enough, says our Authority, interred.

This Battle was fought within six Miles of *York*, Eastward, at a Place now called *Stamfordbridge*†, on the 23d of September, 1066. The *Saxon Chronicle* calls this Place *Stang-forden-bridge*; *Higden*, in his *Policronicon*, *Stein-orth-burgh*; but after the Conquest the Village had the name of *Pons-Belli*, or *Battle-Bridge*, given it, to perpetuate the Memory of this great Overthrow. However it now retains its ancient Name, and no Remembrance of the Fight, except a Piece of Ground on the left Hand of the Bridge, called *Battle-Flats* at this day‡. In the plowing this Ground have been found, of late Years, Pieces of old Swords, and a very small sort of Horse-Shoes, which could only fit an As, or the least Breed of Northern Horses.—We must not forget that the Inhabitants of this Village have a Custom, at their annual Feast, to make Pyes in the Form of a Swill, or Swine-Tub; which, Tradition says, was made Use of as a Boat by the Man that struck the *Norwegian* from under the Bridge. This may be true, for the River *Ouse*, in this Part, being but very lately made navigable, we may imagine a Boat was not then easily to be had to perform the Exploit in. The Bridge also continued to be a Wooden one, till falling greatly to Decay it was taken down, and a new one begun and finished, about 100 Yards below the old one, at the County Charge, *Anno* 1727.—But to our History.

Harold, returning to *York* that Night, gave Orders for solemn Feasts and Rejoicings to be begun the next Day, with all the Magnificence imaginable§. Our City may well be supposed to have a real Share in the general Joy, as not only being relieved from foreign Fetters, but secured from the just Fears of *Tostig*, who, no Doubt, would

VOL. I.

M

would

* *Gul. Malmf.*

† This Name has lead some of our modern Historians to fix this Battle at *Stamford*, in *Lincolnshire*.

‡ *Order. vitalis*, p. 500. A.

§ *Gul. Malmf.*

would have taken ample Vengeance on his Enemies as soon as his Conquest was compleat. But this Joy was of very short Date, *Harold* had scarce begun his Triumph, when he received the News, as he sat in this City in great State at a magnificent Entertainment, that *William Duke of Normandy* was landed, with a mighty Army, at *Pevensey*, near *Hastings* in *Suffex*. Thither *Harold* hasted to oppose him, and a memorable Battle was fought between the *English* and *Normans*, wherein *Harold* lost his Life and Crown only nine Days after his former Victory.

To conclude this Head we shall only take Leave to put the Reader in Mind, that our City was reduced, by *Edred the West-Saxon*, from being, as *Alcuin* styles it, *Caput totius Regni*, i. e. *Northanbumbroborum*, to be only the Capital of an Earldom; in which State it remained to *Edward the Confessor's* Days, when it suffered a much greater Revolution: For though it is said that *Alfred the Great* divided *England* into Counties, *Shires*, or *Shriewalties**, and appointed a Chief Officer to govern each, called a *Shire-reeve*, or *Sheriff*, instead of the *Earl*, or *Comes*, yet we cannot find that this was done in the North till the Time above-mentioned. And now the Capital of the *Roman Province* in *Britain*, the *Saxon Kingdom*, and the Earldom of *Northumberland*, which last anciently contained all from the *German* to the *Irish Sea* in Breadth, and from the *Humber* to the *Tweed* in Length, was split into six or seven distinct *Shires*, or Counties, with each a City or Chief Town at the Head of it: So that *York*, from the Command of the whole, was now, in Civil Affairs, only Metropolis of somewhat the largest Share, called, in *Domesday-Book*, *Eurewicscire*, in which Lot it has continued ever since, and in all human Probability ever will do.

Shire comes from *SCYRAN*, *Sax.* to divide; and this large *Saxon District* was then split in this Manner, says *R. Hoveden*:

<i>Everwichscire,</i>	<i>Goplande,</i> since call-	<i>Westmerilonde,</i>
<i>Richmundescire,</i>	ed the <i>Bishoprick</i>	<i>Northumbrelonde,</i>
<i>Lecestrescire,</i>	of <i>Durham,</i>	<i>Cumbrelonde.</i>

* *Spelman* in vita *Alfredi* mag.

The historical Annals of the City continued from the Norman Conquest, to the uniting of the two Houses of York and Lancaster.

WHAT has preceded this Period, *Anno 1066*, has been a Series of uncommon Events and Turns of Fate which our City has undergone during the *Saxon*, *Danish*, and other foreign Invasions. Fire and Sword, in the Hands of the most inhuman Barbarians, have so often subverted its Walls and Bulwarks, that we have been forced to seek for it, as it were, in its own Dust and Rubbish. It might be imagined that after such an extraordinary Revolution in Favour of the Duke of *Normandy*, who knew as well how to make the best of a Victory as to gain one, our harassed City might have enjoyed that Calm, which the rest of the Kingdom had from the Conqueror's first Acts of Clemency. But, so much to the contrary, we shall shew, under the Reign of his Christian Tyrant, its Destruction and Desolation surpassed whatever had been done to it before by the most wicked Pagan Princes.

York had still *Earl Morchar* for its Governor, *An. 1068*. *William* had not yet changed any Thing so far North; he and his Brother, *Edwin* Earl of *Chester*, could not bear to see their Country so miserably enslaved, and therefore resolved, if possible, to throw off the Yoke; for they soon found, by *William's* Proceedings, that the greatest Slavery was hastening down to them. As these *Saxon* Lords had a very great Interest in the Kingdom, they quickly raised Forces, which were augmented by *Blethwin*, King of *Wales*, their Nephew. The Conqueror's Policy made him fear that this Revolt would be general, if he did not stop it in the Bud; he therefore hastened down into the North, yet not so fast but he took Time to fortify the Castle at *Warwick*, and gave Orders for the building a new one at *Nottingham*, by Way of securing a safe Retreat in Case of the worst*. From thence he proceeded either to fight the Rebels or to besiege *York*, which had sided with them. At the Beginning of this Insurrection *William* had displaced *Morchar* from his Government, and made one *Robert*, a *Norman*, for his cruel and austere

M 2

Nature,

* *S. Dunelm.*

would have taken ample Vengeance on his Enemies as soon as his Conquest was compleat. But this Joy was of very short Date, *Harold* had scarce begun his Triumphant when he received the News, as he sat in this City in great State at a magnificent Entertainment, that *William Duke of Normandy* was landed, with a mighty Army, at *Pewsey*, near *Hastings* in *Suffex*. Thither *Harold* hasted to oppose him, and a memorable Battle was fought between the *English* and *Normans*, wherein *Harold* lost his Life and Crown only nine Days after his former Victory.

To conclude this Head we shall only take Leave to put the Reader in Mind, that our City was reduced, by *Edred* the *West-Saxon*, from being, as *Alcuin* styles it, *Caput totius Regni*, i. e. *Northanbumbororum*, to be only the Capital of an Earldom; in which State it remained to *Edward* the Confessor's Days, when it suffered a much greater Revolution: For though it is said that *Alfred* the Great divided *England* into Counties, *Shires*, or *Shirevalties**, and appointed a Chief Officer to govern each, called a *Shire-reeve*, or *Sheriff*, instead of the *Earl*, or *Comes*, yet we cannot find that this was done in the North till the Time above-mentioned. And now the Capital of the *Roman Province* in *Britain*, the *Saxon Kingdom*, and the Earldom of *Northumberland*, which last anciently contained all from the *German* to the *Irish* Sea in Breadth, and from the *Humber* to the *Tweed* in Length, was split into six or seven distinct *Shires*, or Counties, with each a City or Chief Town at the Head of it: So that *York*, from the Command of the whole, was now, in Civil Affairs, only Metropolis of somewhat the largest Share, called, in *Domesday-Book*, *Eurewicscire*, in which Lot it has continued ever since, and in all human Probability ever will do.

Shire comes from *SCYRAN*, *Sax.* to divide; and this large *Saxon District* was then split in this Manner, says *R. Hoveden*:

<i>Everwichscire,</i>	<i>Coplande,</i> since call-	<i>Westmerilonde,</i>
<i>Richmundescire,</i>	ed the <i>Bishoprick</i>	<i>Northumbrelonde,</i>
<i>Loncastrescire,</i>	of <i>Durham,</i>	<i>Cumbrelonde.</i>

* *Spelman* in vita *Alfredi* mag.

the historical Annals of the City continued from the Norman Conquest, to the uniting of the two Houses of York and Lancaster.

WHAT has preceded this Period, *Anno 1066*, has been a Series of uncommon Events and Turns of Fate which our City has undergone during the *Saxon, Danish*, and other foreign Invasions. Fire and Sword, the Hands of the most inhuman Barbarians, have often subverted its Walls and Bulwarks, that we have been forced to seek for it, as it were, in its own Dust and Rubbish. It might be imagined that after such an extraordinary Revolution in Favour of the Duke of *Norandy*, who knew as well how to make the best of a victory as to gain one, our harassed City might have enjoyed that Calm, which the rest of the Kingdom had from the Conqueror's first Acts of Clemency. But, so much to the contrary, we shall shew, under the Reign of this Christian Tyrant, its Destruction and Desolation surpassed whatever had been done to it before by the most wicked Pagan Princes.

York had still *Earl Morchar* for its Governor, *An. 1068*. *William* had not yet changed any Thing so far North; he and his Brother, *Edwin Earl of Chester*, could not bear to see their Country so miserably enslaved, and therefore resolved, if possible, to throw off the Yoke; for they soon found, by *William's* Proceedings, that the greatest Slavery was hastening down to them. As these *Saxon* Lords had a very great Interest in the Kingdom, they quickly raised Forces, which were augmented by *Blethwin*, King of *Wales*, their Nephew. The Conqueror's Policy made him fear that this Revolt would be general, if he did not stop it in the Bud; he therefore hastened down into the North, yet not so fast but he took Time to fortify the Castle at *Warwick*, and gave Orders for the building a new one at *Nottingham*, by Way of securing a safe Retreat in Case of the worst*. From thence he proceeded either to fight the Rebels or to besiege *York*, which had sided with them. At the Beginning of this Insurrection *William* had displaced *Morchar* from his Government, and made one *Robert*, a *Norman*, for his cruel and austere

M 2

Nature,

* *S. Dunelm.*

Nature, Earl of *Northumberland*. This Man he sent down to *Durham*, some Time before he came himself, with a Guard of 700, others say 900 *Normans*, to exercise what Cruelty he pleased, provided he kept those turbulent Spirits in Subjection *. The stout *Northumbrians* could not bear this Usage, but, arming privately, they came upon this new-made Governor in the Night, at his Quarters in *Durham*, and with Fire and Sword destroyed both him and his *Normans* to a Man. The Sword drawn it was not to be sheathed again in Haste. Earl *Gospatrick*, their Commander, and *Edgar Atheling*, their lawful Prince, who was come to them out of *Scotland*, where he had fled for Protection from *William's* conquering Sword, immediately marched at the Head of the *Northumbrians* towards *York*. Here they were received by *Morchar*, *Edwin*, and the Citizens of *York*, with all the Joy and Triumph they could possibly testify on this Occasion †. But this lasted a very small Time; for *William* came on apace; and the Generals being as yet in no Condition to withstand his numerous Army, consulted whether they should fly the Country, or yield themselves up to the Conqueror's Mercy. The last was agreed on, and having taken Care to send back Prince *Edgar* into *Scotland*, they voluntarily submitted themselves to the Victor's Clemency. This Method was right, says *Leopold*; for how cruel soever *William* was in his Nature, he had Policy enough, adds he, to pardon these Earls at this Time, with a View to reclaim the *English*, and give them a better Opinion of his merciful Temper. The Inhabitants of *York* had the same political Mercy extended to them; for when they saw how well the Generals were treated, and knew at the same Time they were in no Condition to stand a Siege, they came out of the City to meet the Conqueror, delivered him the Keys with great Submission, and were seemingly received into Favour. This gained them a Remission of corporal Punishment, but they were obliged to pay a large Fine; and moreover had the Mortification to see two Castles fortified in the City, and strongly garrisoned with *Norman* Soldiers.

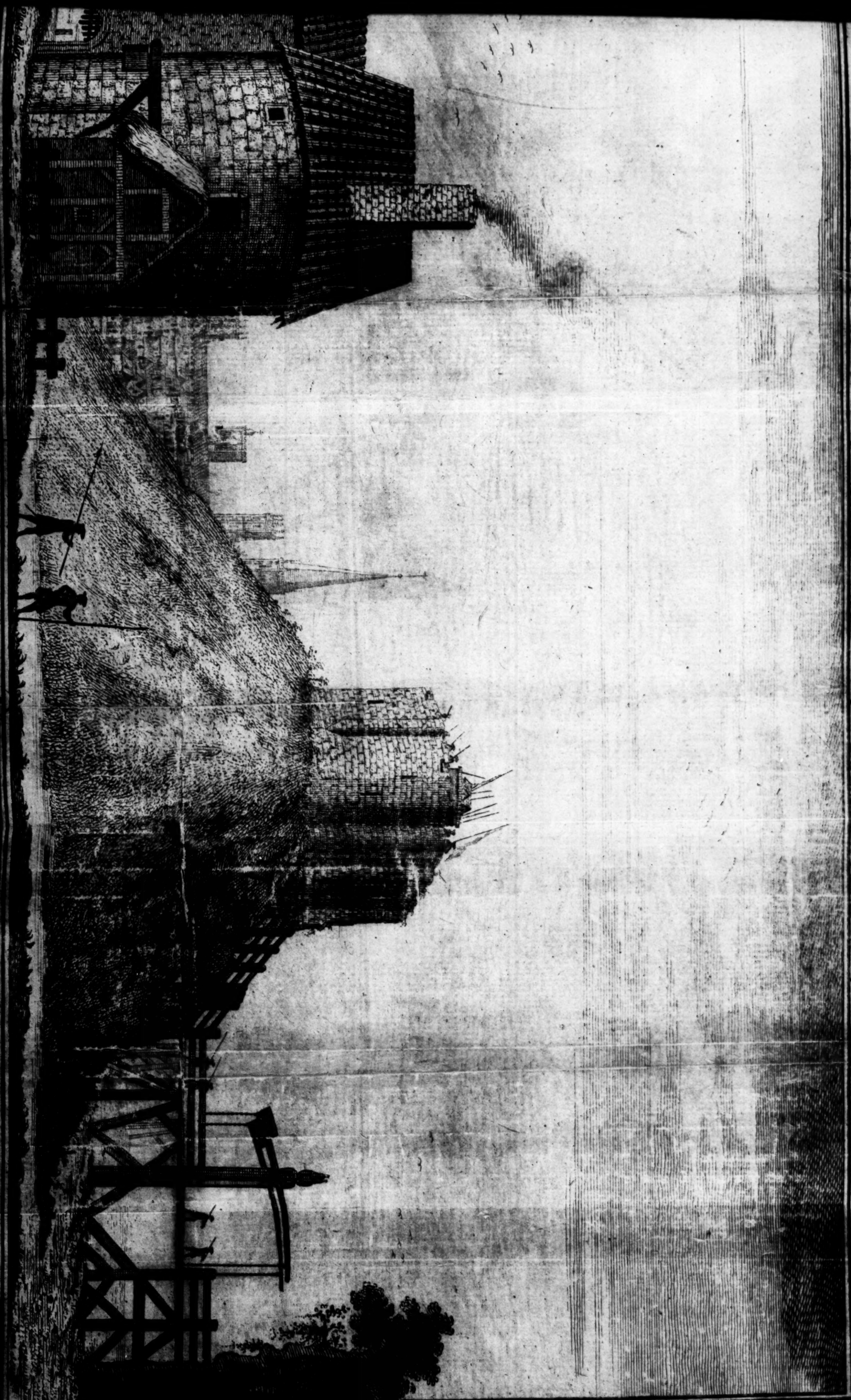
William

* *Wal. Hemingford*, Canon of *Gisburgb*.

† *Annales Waverlacenses*.

‡ *Rex autem Willielmus Snotingham venit ubi castello firmo* *Elm*

Clifford's-Tower in York, as it stood, fortified before it was blown up. An. 1684.



William's Mercy was soon found to be a Copy of his
 maintenance; for at the same Time that he pardoned
 he, he not only punished others who were less guilty,
 he imprisoned several who had no Hand at all in the
 revolt. This gave Occasion to the Leaders to look
 out them, and put them in Mind what they were to
 expect as soon as Opportunity would permit. The three
 sons, Morchar, Edwin, and Gospatrick, fled into Scot-
 land to Malcolm the Scotch King, who very generously
 gave them his Protection. Malcolm had lately married
 Margaret, the eldest Sister to Prince Edgar; from which
 conjunction a long Race of Scottish Kings, and since of
 Great-Britain, are lineally descended. The Norman,
 Buchanan, puff'd up with the Success of his Affairs,
 sent an Herald into Scotland to demand Edgar Atheling
 and the English Lords; but Malcolm looking upon it as
 a cruel and faithless Thing to deliver up his suppliant
 guest and Kinsman, and one, adds our Author, *against*
whom his very Enemies could object no Crime, to his mor-
 tal Foe to be put to Death, resolved to protect him, and
 suffer any Thing rather than do it. He well knew that
 William would be speedily with him for this Refusal, and
 consequently was not slow to provide for his Reception.
 A considerable League was now formed against the
 conqueror †; Edwin and Morchar were sent into Den-
 mark, who persuaded King Swain that it would be an
 easy Matter to conquer England at this Juncture; and
 the Danish King came readily into the Proposal. Being
 informed of a powerful Army of English and Scots to join
 his Forces he should send over, he dispatched away Of-
 fo his Brother, the two Sons of Harold, a Bishop, call-
 ed Christiern, Earl Turkyl, or Turketyl, with 250 tall
 men, which all entered the Humber in Safety. At their
 landing they were immediately joined by the English
 discontented and the Scotch Auxiliaries; which, when
 joined together, composed a formidable Army, suffi-
 cient

M. 3.

*perverit; ibidemque duobus Castellis firmatis quingenos milites
 is posuit. Hoveden. Hoc anno, scil. 1068, rex firmavit unum
 rum apud Snotingham & duo apud Eboracum. Brompt. Duobus
 ellis, &c. Sim. Dunel.*

ATHELING, ab A. S. ÆTHELING, quo nomine regius filius,
 i bares, princeps juventutis olim appellabatur, ab ÆTHEL m-
 q. d. Nobilium primarius, omnino ut in Græco Romano imperia
 distimus. Skinner, Dic. Etymol. † S. Dunel.

cient to have shaken *William's* Crown, had they all acted as they ought to have done. It is certain the News of this Alarm so struck him, that he thought proper to send his Wife and Children into *Normandy*, as a Place of better Security, before he undertook to lay this Storm, which looked so black upon him from the North.

Osbern, the *Danish* General, at the Head of the confederate Army, marched directly towards *York**, where, we may imagine, they were not unwelcome to the Citizens. The *Norman* Garrison in the Castles were resolved to hold out to the last Extremity, not doubting but their King would speedily come to their Assistance. Making all Things ready for a Siege, the *Normans* set Fire to some Houses in the Suburbs on that Side of the City, lest they should serve the Enemy to fill up the Ditches of their Fortifications. This Fire spreading, by an accidental Wind, further than it was designed, burned down great Part of the City, and with it the Cathedral Church; where that famous Library, which *Alcuin* writes of, placed there by Archbishop *Egbert*, about the Year 800, to the unspeakable Loss of Learning, was entirely consumed in the Flames. Divine Vengeance, says *Hoveden*, soon repaid them this Injury; for the *Danes* taking the Advantage of this Confusion which the Fire must have necessarily occasioned, entered the City without Opposition; and then the Confederates dividing their Forces attacked both the Castles at the same Time; the *Danes* one, and the *English* and *Scots* the other. This Charge was made so vigorously on both Sides, that they beat down all before them, and entered the Castles Sword in Hand. A miserable Slaughter ensued, for all the *Norman* Garrison was cut in Pieces, and every one else that was in them, except, say our Historians, *William Mallet* †, then High-Sheriff of the County, his Wife and two Children, *Gilbert de Gaunt*, and a few others.

This Conflict happened in our City September 19, 1069. The Number of the Slain is variously reported by

* *R. Hoveden.*

† This *William Mallet*, or *Malet*, came in with the Conqueror, and was with him at the famous Battle of *Hastings*. In the 1st Year of the Conqueror's Reign he was constituted High-Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, *Dugdale's* Baron.

by Historians *, but is much superior to the Garrison, which *Hoveden*, &c. write, *William* left in the Castles to keep the City in Awe, which was no more than 500 Men. Here they all agree 3000 *Normans* were slain at least, and *William* of *Newburgh* writes 4000, and upwards; *Camden* speaks of decimating the Prisoners they had taken afterwards. Now how 500 could grow up to 5000 imperceptibly, we cannot conjecture, unless by the Omission of a Numeral in the first Account. For 500 Men can never be called a sufficient Garrison to man two Castles, and keep a City and Country in Subjection, that heartily detested the *Norman* in Person as well as Government, and which he was not unacquainted with.

The *Danish* General, by Consent of all, made *Walthef*, the Son of the valiant *Siward*, before spoken of, Governor of the City, with a stout Garrison of *English* and *Scotch* Soldiers under him. After which the *Danes* retired, and intrenched themselves in a convenient Place betwixt the *Humber* and the *Trent*, waiting the coming of the *Norman* King †.

William was not slack in his Proceedings against them, for when he heard of the Destruction of the *Norman* Garrison at *York*, he spurred on to take Vengeance with all the Fury imaginable. It was now, says *Rapin*, that he had Opportunity to put forth his natural Temper; he was often heard to say in his March to the North, *That by God's Splendor*, his usual Oath, *he would not leave a Soul of them alive*; and he began to put his Threats in Execution, with great Punctuality, as soon as he arrived in the Country.

At his coming before the City he summoned the Governor with terrible Menaces of Fire and Sword, if he refused to surrender. *Walthef* set at nought his Threats, for being well garrisoned, and excellently well furnished with all Necessaries for a Siege, and moreover satisfied of Assistance from the *Danish* Army, he sent him a brave Defiance. *William* saw plainly these Obstacles were invincible, and that he never could reduce the City at such a Disadvantage, neither durst he attack the *Danes* in their Intrenchments, the two Armies were so posted

to

* *J. Dunel. R. Hoveden. W. Malmſbury. W. Newburgh.*

† *H. Hunt.*

to succour one-another. In this Exigency he had Recourse to Policy, and tried how far the Dint of Money would operate on the *Danish* General. The Affair succeeded beyond his Expectation*, for the faithless *Dane* made a secret Compact with *William*, receiving a round Sum of Money in Hand, and Leave to plunder the Sea-Coasts at his going off, he promised to depart as soon as the Spring would permit him. *Osbern* kept his Word, embarked his Forces, and basely left his Allies to the Mercy of the *Norman*; for which, say Historians, he was severely punished by his Brother at his Return.

This Desertion of the *Danes* caused the utmost Consternation amongst the Citizens and Garrison of *York*. They had now nothing but their own Valour to trust to; but being encouraged by the Bravery of their Governor, who was the foremost in all Dangers for their Defence, they were resolved to sell their Lives to the Conqueror at as dear a Rate as possible.

William, (*An. 1070*) now eased of his Fears from the *Danes*, pushed on the Siege with double Vigor, and with his Engines made a large Breach in the Walls, thro' which he attempted to take the City by Storm, and made a fierce Attack upon it, but was repulsed by the Garrison with great Loss. The Governor himself, says *William* of *Malmesbury*, a Man of prodigious Might and Strength, stood single in the Breach, and with his own Hands cut off the Heads of several *Normans* that attempted to enter it. How long this famous Siege lasted, no one Historian we have yet met with is so particular as to mention. It may however be computed to be about six Months; for from the 17th of *September*, the Day the Castles were taken by the *Danes*, &c. to *Osbern's* going back, which was in the Spring, and the City's holding out somewhat longer, it may be said that *William* sat down before it about *Michaelmas*, and the Surrender happened about *Lady-Day*. This Opposition makes it evident that, had the *Danes* kept faithful, *William* must have divided his Forces; and then, in all Probability, the City had never fallen into his Hands. *Land* has given us a Copy of an Act of State which the Conqueror did when he laid before this City, to wit, a

Grant

* *R. Hoveden.*

Grant to his Nephew *Alain* Earl of *Britany*, afterwards of *Richmond*, of all the Lands of *Edwin* Earl of *Chester*, who was then in *York* against him. The Style of which Donation, as well for Brevity as Strength, is very remarkable, and is an Instance that large Estates were formerly conveyed in very few Words. We offer it to our modern Lawyers as a Specimen.

Ego Gulielmus, cognonime Bastardus, do et concedo tibi Alano, Nepoti meo, Britanie Comiti, et Heredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas Villas et Terras, que nuper fuerunt Comitis Edwini in Eboracseiria; cum Fœdis Militum, et Ecclesiis, et aliis Libertatibus et Consuetudinibus, ita libere et honorifice sicut idem Edwinus ea tenuit.

Dat. in Obsidione coram Civitate Eboraci.

This absolute Confiscation of the large Estate and Possessions, no less than near two hundred Manors and Townships, as appears by the Conqueror's Survey, then of Right belonging to an ancient *Saxon* Earl, was a Taste of his Cruelty; and was sufficient to let the Besieged know what Mercy the rest of them were to expect when he should have them in his Power.

William of *Malmſbury* mentions a Battle which the Conqueror gained against a powerful Army sent to the Relief of the City. These, it is presumed, were *Scots* and *Northumbrians*, for the *Danes* had deserted before that Time. It seems by it that this last Struggle for Liberty was very great in the North, and all possible Efforts made to shake off the *Norman* Yoke; nor was this Attempt made to raise the Siege easily frustrated; the aforesaid Author tells us that the Battle was terrible and bloody; nor did he gain the Victory without a very considerable Loss of his own Men*.

Earl *Waltheof*, the Governor, rendered also the Siege of the City exceeding difficult, merely by his Courage and Conduct, insomuch that *William* almost despaired of going thro' with it. But being now freed from the Fears of any other Enemy, he drew down the whole Strength of the

* *Urbem Metropolim, quam Angli cum Danis et Scotis obstinate tenebant, in Deditionem accepit; Civibus longe Inidia consumptis. Maximum quoque Hostium numerum, qui obsessis in Auxilium conveniant, ingenti et gravi prælio fudit; non incruenta sibi Victoria multos suorum amittens.* Gul. Malm.

the Kingdom against it, and beleaguered it quite round, resolving to starve them into a Compliance, since Force would not prevail. It must here be observed, that his Army must be very numerous to surround the City, and begirt it so close that no Provision could be thrown into it. In the last Civil War 50,000 Men, the Number of the *English* and *Scotch* Forces that besieged *York*, were insufficient, and could not wholly prevent it. However this Method took, and Famine began to rage so violently within the Walls, that it obliged the Besieged to try the Victor's Clemency. *William*, greatly desirous to surmount this Difficulty, stuck at neither Oaths nor Promises to obtain it; the Articles * of Surrender were as honourable as possible, considering the Circumstances the City was in; nay, after the Surrender, he seemed so charmed with the Valour and Conduct of the Governor, which he had personally beheld in the Siege, that he gave him afterwards in Marriage his Niece *Judith*, Daughter to the Countess of *Albermarl*; and first made him Earl of *Northampton* and *Huntingdon*, and afterwards Earl of *Northumberland*, Anno 1070.

Whatever Favours *William* conferred upon the Governor, it is certain the City felt none of them; and so great was the Difference in this Case, as renders the Earl's Character very suspicious. To make the best of it, it can only be said that, when the Governor saw the Affair desperate, he made the most advantageous Terms he could for himself as well as the City. *William's* profound Policy obliged him to keep such a Man as *Waltheof* in his Interest at that Time, but he trusted him no farther than he could see him; and in a small Time let him both see and feel his Error, for he took off his Head on Account of a Conspiracy which *Waltheof* himself first informed him of †.

Thus fell the last of the *Saxon* Earls of *Northumberland*, with the Honour of being the first Nobleman that was ever beheaded in *England*. *Morchar* and *Edwin* not caring to trust the Conqueror's Mercy, found Means to escape out of the City before the Surrender; but being hunted from Place to Place by this insatiable Blood-Hound, the two Brothers at last met the same Fate, and had the Misfortune to be both murdered in a Mutiny of their

* *M. Paris.*† *R. Hoveden.*

their own Men. Prince *Edgar* likewise escaped into *Scotland* †.

Whatever Articles the Governor had stipulated for in the Surrender in Behalf of the City and Citizens, they were little regarded by the Conqueror. *Malmſbury* ſays, that he looked upon this Place as the only Neſt of Rebellion in the Kingdom; he ſuppoſed them Abettors in the Deſtruction of the *Norman* Garriſon, and therefore they were to feel his fierceſt Vengeance. He razed the City to the Ground, and with it fell ‡ all the principal Nobility and Gentry, and moſt of the other Inhabitants; the few that were ſaved were forced to purchaſe their Lives with ſuch large Fines, that they were reduced to the utmoſt Penury to diſcharge them. The *Engliſh* and *ſcotch* Garriſon, notwithſtanding the Articles, all periſhed; and thus, ſays our Author, was this noble City waſted by Famine, Fire and Sword, to the very Roots. Nor did his implacable Malice ſtop here, but, leſt the Country ſhould be capable of ſupporting the City in this dreadful Calamity, he laid all waſte betwixt *York* and *Durham*; deſtroyed or drove out the Inhabitants, and made the Country ſo deſolate, that for nine Years after neither Plow nor Spade was put into the Ground. If any of the wretched People eſcap'd the Sword, they were not reſerved for a much worſe Fate, being forced for ſuſtenance, thro' Famine, to eat Dogs, Cats, Horſes, and even Human Fleſh, to preſerve their miſerable Lives. Thus was our City, and even our whole Country, ſo entirely waſted and deſtroyed, except the Lands belonging to *St. John of Beverley* *, which the Tyrant thought fit to ſpare, that no Words can either come up to the Deſcription; nor, if they did, would they find the beſt Belief in the Recital. Hear then the Hiſtorians, who wrote the neareſt theſe Times, in their own Phraſe and Diction.

And

† *Inguſſibus*

‡ *Et tunc quidem cum civitate omnis nobilitas popularis emarcuit, ſc. belli deſeſſa.* Gul. Malm.

* He had ſent a Commander and a Party out to deſtroy this County too, but the Officer chanced to fall from his Horſe in his March, and broke his Neck in ſuch Manner, that his Face was turned quite backward; when it was told to the King, he believed an Omen ſent from *St. John* to warn him to ſpare his Territories, and therefore deſiſted from ſpoiling thoſe Parts. *Knighton*.

And first, *William the Librarian of Malmſbury* †, who, though a *Norman*, has not excused his Countryman the Conqueror; but has done him ample Justice, as the following Quotation will testify :

EBORACVM Urbs amplā et Metropolis elegantiae Romanæ præferens indicium, a duabus partibus Hufæ fluminis ædificata, includit in medio finus sui naves a Germania et Hibernia venientes. Furori aquilonalium gentium primæ semper obnoxia, barbaricos Danorum motus, toto tempore quo dominati sunt in Anglia, excepit et ingemuit, quapropter multis ruinis quassata. Ultima peste sub Gulielmo rege concidit, qui urbanis iratus, quod Danis adventantibus receptui et consultui fuissent, prius inedia, mox flammâ civitatem confecit. Regionis etiam totius vicos et agros corrumpi, fructus et fruges igne vel aquâ labefactari iussit. Ita provinciæ quondam fertilis nervi, præda, incendio, sanguine succisi. Humus per sexaginta milliaria omnifariam inculta, nudum omnium solum ad hoc usque tempus. Urbes olim præclaras, turres proceritate sua in cælum nantes, agros letos pascuis, irriguos fluviis, siquis modo vidit peregrinus, ingemit; si vetus incola, non agnoscit.

What *Simeon of Durham*, *Roger Hoveden*, *William of Newburgh*, *Knigh-ton*, &c. write of this Tragedy, may be all comprehended in old *Simeon's Words*. †

Normannis Angliam vastantibus in Northimbría, et in quibusdam aliis provinciis anno præcedenti, præsentis et subsequenti fere per totam ANGLIAM, sed maxime per NORTHYMBRAM et per contiguas illi provincias adeo famæ prævaluit, ut homines humanas, equinas, caninas, et caninas carnes, et quicquid usus abborret, cogente inedia, comederent. Alii vero in servitutem perpetuam sese venderent, dummodo qualitercunque miserabilem vitam sustentarent, alii vero extra patriam profecturi in exilium, medio itinere deficientes animas emiserunt. Erat horror ad intuentium per domos, plateas et itinera cadavera dissolvi, et tabescentis putredine cum fælore horrendo scaturire vermibus. Non enim supererat qui ea humo cooperiret, omnibus vel extinctis gladio vel fame, vel propter famem paternum solum reliquentibus. Interior ita terra cultore destituta, lata ubique solitudo patebat per novem annos. Inter Eboracam et Duncelmum

† *Gul. Malm. vix Temp. R. Step.*

† *Sim. Dun. vix. An. 1164.*

anelmum nusquam villa inhabitata, bestiarum tantum et
tronum latibula, magnæ itinerantium fuere timori.

Ordericus Vitalis Ubicensis, a Church Historian, who
as nearly contemporary with this Accident, cannot ex-
use his Countryman William for his inhuman Barbarity
ecuted on this Occasion. What he says of it take in
own Words :

Spatia centum milliarum castra ejus diffunduntur. Ple-
sq̃ue gladio vindice ferit, aliorum latebras evertit, terras
vastat, et domus cum rebus omnibus concremat. Nusquam
ta crudelitate usus est Gulielmus, hic turpiter vitio suc-
buit, dum iram suam regere contempsit, et reos innocuosque
ri animadversione peremit. Fussit enim, ira stimulante,
getibus et pecoribus cum vasis et omni genere alimentorum
pleri, et igne injecto penitus omnia simul comburi; et sic
mum alimoniam per totam regionem trans Humbram pa-
ter devastari. Unde sequenti tempore tam gravis in An-
lia late sævit penuria, et inermem et simplicem populum
anta famis involvit miseria, ut Christianæ gentis utrius-
ue sexus et omnis ætatis homines perirent plusquam centum
millia. In multis Gulielmum nostra libenter extulit rela-
o; sed in hoc, quod una justum et injustum tabidæ famis
ncea æque transfixit, laudare non audeo. Nam, dum in-
cuos, infantes, juvenesque, vernantes, et floridos canicie
mes fame periclitari video, misericordia motus miserabilis
opuli mæroribus et anxietatibus magis condoleo, quam fri-
olis adulationibus inutiliter studeo. Præterea indubitan-
ter assero, quod impune non remittitur tam fatalis occisio;
numos enim et imos intuetur omnipotens judex, ac æque om-
ium facta discutiet ac puniet districtissimus vindex, et pa-
am omnibus evodet Dei perpetua lex. Lib. 4. p. 514.

We believe we may venture to say that no History
whatever can parallel these Accounts; nor was there
ever a Tyrant in the Christian or Pagan World, that
exercised his Power so much to the Destruction of his
Fellow-Creatures, before or since. A farther Account
of this great Devastation may not be unacceptable to the
Reader in old English rhymical Verse, taken out of Peter
Langtoft's Chronicle, published by Mr. Hearn.

Now William has sojourned and slayne alle bis Enmys,
And to the Southe is turned, als King thot wan the Pris.

*Tidings cam him fulle stout, that a grete Oſte and Starke,
With Harold and with Knoute, the King's Sonnes
Denmark,*

*Were aryved in Humbere, and an Earl Turkylle,
With Foulk withouten Numbere the Norreis ſelle tham till
Comen to the Earl Edgar, with all thos of his Kinde,
Sir Walthof he is thar, tho with that he met finde
Marlſwain Turkylle Son, and Swayne o doughty Knyght
Of Scotlande Goſpatrick, with tham at all his Myght.
The Normans in the Southe were in ſoe grete Affray,
Of Kaſtells and of Tounes, they com oute alle Day.
To York ran ilk a Man, to reſcet in that Toun,
That no Danes Man the Walles to breke doune.
Sir William Mellet was Warden of the Cuntres,
Sibright the Gaunt was ſet with to keep the Pees.
Theſe tuo brought tydyng, thei were comen by that Coſte,
Therefore William the King did turne agayn his Hoſte,
And ſwore a grete Othe, that he ſuld neuer ſpare
Neither Lithe nor Loſe, Northeren what ſo thei were.
William turned agayn, and held what he had ſworn,
All mad he waſteyn, Paſture, Medow, and Korne.
And ſlough both Fader and Sonne, Women lete thei gon,
Hors and Houndes thei ete, uncitbis ſkaped non.
Now dwellis William eſte, full bare was money wone,
Of gode Men er none leſte, but ſlayn er ilk one.
Grete Sin did William, that ſwilk Wo did werk,
So grete Vengeance he nam, of Men of holy Kirk,
That did no Wem till him, ne no Treſpaſs,
Fro York unto Durham no wonyng Stede was,
Nien Yere, ſays my Buke, laſted ſo grete Sorrow,
The Biſhop Clerkes tuke their Lyves for two borrow.*

The Subject is too melancholy to dwell any longer upon, or trouble the Reader with any more Proofs to make good our Aſſertion. We ſhall only ſay, that the Uſage William gave our City is yet felt, having never ſince his Time ſhewed half the Splendor that it did before, nor probably ever will again.

The City of London, though now ſo overgrown and mighty, was not to be compared to the capital City of the Northumbrian Kingdom in thoſe Days. “ We ſtand underſtaund, ſays J. Hardyng^e*, that in thoſe Dayes the

* J. Hardyng ſeruit temp. Hen. V.

City of London had much Building from Ludgate towarde Westminster, and litle or non wher the Chiefe or Harte of the Cyte ys now, except that in diverse Places stode housyng, but they stode oute of Ordere. So many Townes or Cytes as York, Canterbury, and diverse othere in Englande, passed London for Buyldeyng in those Dayes; but after the Conqueste it increased, and shortly aftere surpassed all otheres."

Jobannes Severianus, speaking of York, and the Troubles in the Heptarchy, has these Words †: *Præfatum oppidum in id virium et temeritatis temporis processu, crevit, ut urbibus antiquis audeat se conferre*: For tho' we have often seen it suffer grievously under the Saxon, Danish, and other Invasions, yet it always returned, in every Recess, to its former Greatness. William's Barbarity struck at the very Roots of it, and his Malice went so far as to erase, as much as possible, all the noble Remains of Antiquity it could then produce; for, says Leland †, *Hæc clades deturpavit, aut pautius penitus abrasit, quicquid erat monumentorum aut antiquæ nobilitatis a Romanis relicte Eboraci*. And Malmesbury writes, as if he saw this Desolation, *in aliquibus tamen parietum ruinis, et semirutis remansere videas mira Romanorum artificia*. That Wonder then that we have so few Roman Antiquities to produce? The Suburbs of the City before the Conquest, (*An. 1072*) according to Leland §, extended to the Towns a Mile round it, *constans fama est aliquot villas esse uno ab Eboroco milliario, ubi, ante tempora Guelfmi Notbi termini erant suburbanarum ædium*. To conclude this whole Affair, the Author of the *Polychronicon* writes ||, "That York seemed as fair as the City of Rome, before it was burnt by William the Conqueror;" and what was justly enough, by William Harrison, styled *Alterâ Roma*, from the Beauty and fine Buildings of it *, and by Alcuin, *Caput totius Regni*, at this Period was nothing but a Heap of Ruins.

*Quis, talia fando,
Temperet a lacrimis?*

We have now a Gap of Time, which it is impossible to fill up with any Materials to the Purpose. Our City

N 2

lay

† Leland's Col. † Ibid. § Ibid. || R. Higdeni Polychron. Description of Brit.

lay dead, as it were, after *William's* cruel Usage, near an Age, for few Signs of Life can be met with in History about it, the Contests betwixt the two Metropolitane Archbishops excepted. However, we may imagine it had crept out of its Rubbish in King *Stephen's* Time, and had once more reared its Head, when another unhappy Accident befel it. A casual Fire (*Anno 1137*) burnt down the Cathedral Church, *St. Mary's* Abbey †, *St. Leonard's* Hospital, with 39 Parish Churches in the City and *Trinity* Church in the Suburbs. Mr. *Camden* writes that the famous Library in the Cathedral, mentioned above, was destroyed by this Fire; but *R. Hoveden* dates its Destruction more justly from the former Conflagration. The Hand of Fate was still heavy upon us, and this repeated Blow was sensibly felt by the Inhabitants who were reduced so low by it, that their Churches especially the Cathedral, lay a long Time in Rubbish for Want of Means to re-erect them. In King *Stephen's* Time, besides the bloody Wars that occupied his whole Reign, *England* may be said to be all in a Flame, there being no less than twenty Cities and chief Towns actually burnt in a very short Space, (*Anno 1138*) among which ours had the Misfortune to be the greatest Sufferer.

David, King of *Scotland*, knowing the Nation was divided into two great Parties, and a bloody Civil War begun betwixt *Maud* the Empress and *Stephen*, took the Opportunity to enter *England* with a powerful Army, and sending his Horse abroad into the Country, commanded them to waste and spoil all before them. In the mean Time he purposed to besiege *York*, which, he could have taken, he determined to have made a Frontier Town against *Stephen* and his Adherents, wherefore calling in his Horse, he marched towards the City, and sat down before it.

In the mean Time Archbishop *Thurstan*, whom *Stephen* had made Lieutenant-Governor of the North, called together the Nobility and Gentry of the County and those adjoining to the City of *York*, whose Names are thus recorded by *Richard*, Prior of *Hexham* §: *William de Albemarle* ||, *Walter de Gant*, *Robert de Brus*, *Gerard de Mowbray*, *Walter Espec*, *Ilbert de Lacy*, *William*

† *Stowe*, &c. ‡ *Hollinghead*. § *Richard Haguf*.

|| Made the first Earl of *York*, by *Stephen*. Chron. Sax. p. 2

Percy, Richard de Curcy, William Fossard, and Robert Stouteville, all ancient Barons of this County, with William Peverel and Geoffrey Halsaline, of Nottinghamshire, and Robert de Ferrers, of Derbyshire. These Barons, enraged to see their Country so miserably wasted by the Scots, raised Forces, and, being encouraged by an Oration the Archbishop made to them, marched against the enemy with great Bravery. The King of Scotland did not wait their coming, but drew his Army from before York, and retired Northward with some Precipitation. The English Lords came up with him at Northallerton, where a terrible Battle was fought, and the Scots were entirely routed, 10,000 of their Men being slain upon the Spot. This Battle is called, by Historians, *Bellum Standardi*, or the Battle of the Standard; whence, says the Prior, *Hugo de Sotavagina*, Archdeacon of York at that Time, wrote the following Distich on the Ensign erected in the Field of Battle:

*Dicitur a Stando Standardum, quod stetit illic
Militiæ probitas vincere sive mori.*

Standard from Stand this Fight we aptly call,
Our Men here stood, to conquer or to fall.

And now, instead of terrible Wars, Fire, Famine, Disorders, and Desolations, which we have been all along obliged to stick to in these historical Annals for many Ages last past, the Tables are turned to give an Account of Parliaments, Conventions, Coronations, Royal Marriages and Interviews, which our City has been honoured with in some succeeding Years from this Period. Flood and Fire will for a Time be Strangers, except in some Matters of much less Moment, to our Subject; and must give Way to a more pleasant Recital of the Poms and Ceremonies of our former English Monarchs, displayed in our ancient City on several Occasions. This will require the Skill of both the Politician and Courtier, to set them forth in the Colours they deserve; for Want of which Abilities, we must be obliged to wave a great many Flourishes naturally arising in our Way; and the Reader must be content with a plain Relation of Matter of Fact, as we find it delivered by original Historians.

Our City continued in a State of profound Peace for many Ages after this; for though the Scotch Wars were

violent enough in some of the succeeding Reigns, yet they were to the Northward of us, and never reached York but once, as shall be shewn in its proper Place. The Miseries of the foregoing Ages, and the Happiness of this, in Relation to our City, is sung by a Scotch Poet and Historian in these Lines *,

*Visito quam felix Ebraucus condidit urbem,
Petro se debet pontificalis apex.
Civibus hæc toties viduata, novisque repleta,
Dirata prospexit mœnia sæpe sua.
Quid manus hostilis queat est experta frequenter.
Sed quid? nunc pacis otia longa fovent.*

Thus englished †

There happy Ebrank's lofty Towers appear,
Who owe their Mitre to St. Peter's Care.
How oft in Dust the hapless Town hath lain?
How oft its Walls have chang'd? how oft its Men?
How oft the Rage of Sword and Fire has mourn'd?
But now's long Joy and lasting Peace return'd.

Another Scotch Poet has likewise sung our Praises in the following Verses ‡:

*Præsidet extremis Artoꝝ finibus oræ
Urbs vetus, in veteri facta subinde nova;
Romanis aquilis quondam ducibusque superba,
Quam post barbaricæ diripuerunt manus.
Pictus atrox, Scotus, Danus, Normannus, et Anglus
Fulmina in hanc martis detonuere sui.
Post diras rerum clades, totque aspera fata,
Blandius aspirans aura serena subit.
Londinum caput est et regni urbs prima Britanni,
Eboracum a prima jure secunda venit.*

O'er the last Borders of the northern Land,
York's ancient Towers, tho' oft made new, command
Of Rome's great Princes once the lofty Seat,
Till barbarous Foes o'erwhelm'd the sinking State.
The Picts, the Scots, the Danes, and Normans, here
Discharg'd the loudest Thunders of the War.

* Alexander Neckam. † Camden.

‡ John Johnson of Aberdeen. Camden.

But this once ceas'd, and every Storm o'erblown,
A happier Gale refresh'd the rising Town.
Let *London* still the just Precedence claim,
York ever shall be proud to be the next in Fame.

One of the first Parliaments * mentioned in History by that Name, was held in *York*, about the Year 1160, in the Reign of *Henry* the Second. At this Convention, as *Buchanan* calls it, *Malcolm* the *Scotch* King was summoned to appear, to answer to such Articles as were to be alledged against him by *Henry*. The chief Article was, that *Malcolm*, when he attended the *English* King in his Wars in *France*, betrayed all their Counsels to the Enemy. The *Scotch* King, by many substantial Reasons, overthrew this Allegation; but he could not prevent the Sentence passing on him, which it is supposed was the Reason of his being summoned, that was, to lose all the Lands he held of *Henry* in *England*, and to do Homage also for his Kingdom of *Scotland* for himself and Successors. For doing the last, which was what *Henry* chiefly aimed at, he relinquished *Northumberland* of the former Part of the Sentence to him. This Condescension of their King the *Scotch* Nobility highly resented, and, at his Return, were with great Difficulty brought to forgive him.

This Parliament, or Convention of the Estates, was not the same as now, the House of Commons not being of so old a Date; but composed of the Barons and Bishops, and other great Men of the Land, whom the King pleased to call together on any extraordinary Occasion. It is the first, however, that we can find, that was ever held in this City, or perhaps in *England*; *Rapin's* Saxon *Witten-gemot* was a Thing not known in the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of the Heptarchy; at least it has not fallen in our Way to describe it. The grand Affair which made *Henry* collect his Nobles at this Time, is a Business of such Consequence to the succeeding *Scotch* Wars, that we think it proper, for the Reader's better Information, to beg Leave to explain it.

Ever since the *Saxon* Government in *England* became universal, and the Power of the Nation united, the *English* Kings looked on *Scotland* with an avaritious Eye; and took all the Opportunitites they could to gain an entire Conquest over that Part of the Island. Some of the

Scotch Kings held the three Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Huntingdonshire*, as a Fealty from the Crown of *England*; for which they did Homage to the King of *England* at his Accession, or when he pleased to call for it. But this was not all the *English* Kings aimed at; the Sovereignty of *Scotland* was the chief Claim, and the Ground of a perpetual Quarrel betwixt them. Nor did the Kings of *England* ever miss an Opportunity, when the *Scotch* Affairs were at a low Ebb, to make their Kings submit to perform that Ceremony, or run the Hazard of a Declaration of War against them. It was on this Account that *Henry II.* summoned *Malcolm* to *York*, before himself and Barons, to answer to a feigned Accusation, where he was terrified into a Compliance; for which he lost the Hearts of his Nobility, who were always strictly tenacious of their ancient Rights and Privileges.

In the Year 1171, this *Henry* called another Convention of the Barons and Bishops of the Realm at *York*, before whom he cited *William*, the Successor of *Malcolm*, to appear and do Homage to him for the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* *. This *William* had before been taken Prisoner, and ransomed at *York* for the Sum of 4000*l.* *William* durst do no other than obey the Summons, and accordingly set out from *Scotland*, with *David* his Brother, and appeared before the King and Parliament at *York*, where his Homage was taken in the most submissive Manner possible. *Knighton* says that *William*, with the Consent of all his Peers and Prelates, did Homage to *Henry* for the Kingdom of *Scotland*; that he likewise signed Letters Patents, binding himself and all his Successors, and all the Subjects of *Scotland*, to do Homage and Fealty, with all Faithfulness, whenever the Kings of *England* should require it; in Token of which Subjection, the *Scottish* King offered and deposited upon the Altar of *St. Peter*, in the Cathedral Church at *York*, his † Breast-Plate,

* *Scotch Chron.*

† Capellum, lanceam, et sellam super altare beati PETRI Ebor. obtulit, quæ in eadem ecclesia usque ad hodiernam diem remanent, et servantur. *Knighton. inter x. script.* In a Claim of King *Edward I.* to his Rights in *Scotland* sent to the Pope, Mention is made of these Pledges of *Scotch* Subjection, then kept in the Cathedral Church of *York*; but they are long since lost. *Ryley's Placit. Parl.* 596. in Append.

Plate, Spear, and Saddle; which *Knighton* says remained there in his Time. The Peers of *Scotland*, now humble enough, took an Oath, binding them and their Heirs, that if at any Time their King should go off from his Faith and break this Agreement, they would rise with one Accord and compel him to stick close to the same.

This was the most abject Submission that ever the Scots made to the *English* Nation. *Buchanan* himself, who is mighty apt to slip or gild over the Transactions of his Countrymen, when he thinks them any ways derogatory to the Honour of the *Scotch* Name, does not deny the Fact above; but seems to bewail the Miseries of their Nation, who were then reduced to such Extremities, that they had no other Way left to redeem their good King, as he calls him, and save themselves from certain Ruin.

In the succeeding Reign of *Richard* King of *England*, (*Anno* 1189) and at his Coronation, an Accident happened of singular Concern to our City, and attended with such Consequences as History can scarce parallel; a particular Account of which, taken chiefly from *William* of *Newburgh*, and *Walter Hemingford*, Canon of *Gisburgh*, both *Yorkshire* Monks, who are naturally led to be copious in relating the Transactions of their own County, cannot be unacceptable to the Reader.

The *Jews* were a People first introduced into *England* by *William* the Conqueror; a Tribe of these placed themselves at *York* soon after; where, by Trade, they were grown so immensely rich, that they were found to be worth the plundering both by Prince and People, as oft as they could form an Excuse for that Purpose. The Fear they constantly lived under made them take all Opportunities, by rich Presents, &c. to ingratiate themselves with the reigning Prince, that they might securely live under his Protection; which Favour was sometimes hard to gain, so zealously affected to the Christian Religion were our former *English* Kings, that they could not bear an open avowed Enemy to it to live amongst them. *Richard* the First was as zealous a Christian as ever sat on the *English* Throne, and as bitter an Enemy to its Opponents. Notwithstanding which
the

the *Jews* were undisturbed; but, abhorring their Religion, and, as our Authority speaks, doubting some Sorcery or other sinister End from them, he strictly commanded that, at his Coronation, no *Jews* should appear either at Church or at Dinner.

* Some of the richest and principal Men of the *Jews* in the Kingdom were summoned from all Parts where they resided, by their Brethren in *London*, to come up to the Coronation, and present some very rich Gift to the new King, in order to procure his Friendship towards them, for confirming the Privileges and Liberties granted them by his Predecessors. The Chief of the *Jews* at *York* were two very rich and wealthy Merchants, and very great Usurers, called *Benedict* and *Jocenus*, or *Jocus* †. These went from hence to *London* with a pompous Retinue, in order to meet their Brethren, and attend the Coronation. Notwithstanding the King's Injunction, many of the *Jews* had the Curiosity to mix with the Croud, in order to see the Ceremony; where being discovered by the Guards, they were beat and abused, and some few slain. The People, who watched all Opportunities to plunder their Houses, took it presently for granted that the King had given Orders they should all be destroyed. Possessed with this Notion, a general Massacre began in *London*, where the *Jews* were murdered, their Houses plundered, and burnt to the Ground with their Wives and Children in them. The King ordered immediately a Proclamation to stop these Proceedings on the severest Penalties; notwithstanding which, the Example of the Metropolis was followed by divers other Places in the Realm, as at *Norwich*, *Lynn*, *Stamford*, but especially *York*; where, say our Authors, the cruel Commands of the fiercest Tyrant, the Rigour of the severest Laws, could never have so far exceeded the Bounds of Reason and Humanity, as to tolerate such a Proceeding.

Benedict and *Jocenus*, our *Jews* of *York*, it seems, had the Curiosity to go amongst the rest to see the Ceremony; *Benedict* was grievously bruised and wounded in the Conflict,

* *Gul. Newburgiensis hist.* *Walter. Hemingford inter xx. script. ed. Gale.*

† *Thomas Wykes*, more probably, calls him *Josias*. *Chron. Thom. Wykes, inter xx. script.*

and being dragged into a * Church, was there forced to renounce *Judaism* and be baptized. The next Day, when the Tumult was ceased, he was brought before the King, who demanded of him whether he was a Christian or no? *Benedict* answered, That he had been forced into Baptism, but that he continued a *Jew* in his Heart, and ever should do; that he chose much rather to suffer Death at his Hands, since the severe Usage he had undergone the Day before informed him that he could not long survive it. At which Words, being driven from the King's Presence, he was restored to the *Jews*; but the miserable Man soon after expired.

Jocenus, his Companion, had the good Fortune to escape the Fray in *London*; but at *York*, where he thought himself the safest, he met with a much worse Fate. The King soon after going on his Voyage to the *Holy Land*, had left Orders with the Lord Chancellor to protect the *Jews*, and punish severely all that should offend them. But this was little regarded at *York*, for a Conspiracy was formed against them by several of the City and County; Men thirsting for Blood, say our Authorities, who wanted but an Opportunity to put their cruel Designs in Execution. A considerable Part of the City took Fire in a very boisterous Night, by Accident as was supposed, but rather imagined to be done on purpose, that the Citizens being busy in extinguishing the Flames might not obstruct their barbarous Intentions. In this Interval the Conspirators broke into the House of *Benedict*, slain at *London*; which being prodigiously strong, his Wife, Children, and Friends had made a Sanctuary of, as dreading some Commotion. But this being overcome by Engines prepared for that Purpose, they entered and murdered the whole Family, gutted the House, and afterwards set Fire to it, and burnt it to the Ground. An Alarm of this Kind struck all the *Jews* at *York* with the utmost Terror; but *Jocenus* especially dreaded their Fury so much, that he got Leave of the Governor to convey all his vast Bulk of Wealth into the Castle, as if it had belonged to the King, or was under his Protection. In a very few Days these Night Robbers and Plunderers, with greater Force and Fury, returned and attacked the House of

* *Baptizatus est a Willielmo priore S. Mariz Eboraci in ecclesia S. Innocent. & vocatus est Willielmus. R. Hoveden.*

of *Jocenus*; which, though exceedingly strong, underwent the same Fate as the former; except that the *Jews*, presaging the Evil, had withdrawn himself, Wife and Children, into the Castle. His Example was followed by most of the *Jews* in the City, leaving few or none of their Goods behind them. The Robbers being enraged at the Loss of so much Plunder, which they had already devoured in their Mind, threw off all Disguise or any Fear of Magistrates or Laws, and not being content with the Destruction of their Houses, flew like Madmen on some *Jews* that were left out of the Castle, and either forced them to be baptized or suffer immediate Death. Whilst this was acting in the City, the Multitude of *Jews* that had taken Sanctuary in the Castle, seemed perfectly secure from the Malice of their Enemies: But it happened that the Governor coming out of the Castle upon some Business of his own, when he would have returned was prevented by the *Jews*, who feared lest in this Time he might have made some Agreement with their Enemies to deliver them up. The Governor went immediately to the * High Sheriff of the County, who was then in *York* negotiating the King's Affairs, and told him that the *Jews*, under Pretence of begging Protection in the Castle, had fraudulently shut him out of it. The High Sheriff was angry to the last Degree; which was still inflamed by those near him, who wished the *Jews* no Good, by saying that it was the highest Indignity to the Person of the King himself, to have one of the most considerable Fortresses in the Kingdom seized by these Miscreants. He instantly ordered out the Writ of *Posse Comitatus* to raise the Country to besiege the Castle. *Excurrit irrevocabile verbum*, says *Hemingford*; and now was shewn the Zeal, adds he, of the *Christian* Populace; for an innumerable Company of armed Men, as well from the City as Country, rose at once and begirt the Fortress round. When the High Sheriff saw this he began to repent of his too hasty Order, and would fain have recalled his Writ; but, to those incensed People, whatever he could say or do, by Authority or Reason, was to no Purpose. The better or wiser Sort of the Citizens, aware of the King's Dis-

pleasure,

* The High Sheriff of this County, 1 *Rich. I.* was *Randulph de Glanville*.

Measure, cautiously avoided these extravagant Proceedings. A great many of the Clergy however were in it; and amongst them a certain Friar, agitated by a furious mistaken Zeal, was violent in the Business. The Castle was fiercely assail'd for several Days together, and no one was bolder in all Attempts than this Canon Hermit of the *Præmonstratensian* Order, as our Authors stile him; for clad in a * white Vesture he was every where diligent, and crying out with a loud Voice *that the Enemies of Christ should be destroyed*, by his own Labour and Boldness he greatly encouraged the rest of the Besiegers. But being too strenuous in his Endeavours in fixing the battering-Engines against the Walls, he came so near them that a large Stone put an End to his Zeal, by dashing out his Brains.

The Jews being driven to great Distress, held a Council among themselves what was to be done; they had offered a mighty Sum of Money only to escape with their Lives, but it was rejected †. When a certain Rabbin, or Doctor of their Law, who was come from foreign Parts to teach and instruct the Jews, stood up amongst them and said ‡, *Men of Israel, our God, whose Laws I have prescribed to you, commands that we should at any Time die for our Law; and behold, now Death looks us in the Face, and we have but to choose whether we should lead a base and scandalous Life, or take the best Method to come at a gallant and glorious Death. If we fall into the Hands of our Enemies, at their own Will and Pleasure we must die; but our Creator when he gave us Life, did also enjoin us that with our own Hands, and of our own Accord, we should devoutly restore it to him again, rather than wait on the Cruelty of any Enemy. This many of our Brethren in many great Tribulations have bravely performed; they knew how to do it, and the most decent Manner of Execution is pointed out to us. Many of the Jews embraced the dreadful Counsel of the Rabbin; but the rest thought his Advice much too harsh and would not consent. The Elder perceiving this said, Those that this good and pious Course displeases, let them separate and be cut off from the Holy Congregation; we for the Sake of our paternal Law despise the Love of transitory Life.* Several withdrew up-

VOL. I.

O

on

* Probably the Habit of his Order, that being white. *Vid. Dugl. Men.*

† *Hoveden.*

‡ *M. Paris.*

on this, and rather chose to try the Victor's Clemency than follow the Rabbin's Advice. Before they began to execute the horrid Sentence, the Elder commanded that all their rich Household Goods, Stuff and Garments, should be publickly burnt; nay, even their Plate, which would not suffer by the Fire, was by an artful and malicious Method strangely damnified, lest the Enemy should be enriched by their Spoils. This done, and Fire put to all the Towers of the Castle, whilst their Companions who had chosen Life looked fullenly on, each Man prepared for the Slaughter. Being told by their Elder that those who bore the steadiest Minds should first cut the Throats of their Wives and Children, the celebrated *Jocenus* began the Execution by doing that barbarous Act on his own Wife, (whom our Historians call *Anna*) and five Children. The Example was speedily followed by the rest of the Masters of Families; and afterwards the Rabbin cut the Throat of *Jocenus* himself, as a Point of Honour he chose to do him above the rest. In short, the whole Crew of miserable Men, who had thus voluntarily given themselves up to Destruction, slew themselves or one another; and amongst the rest fell their impious Adviser*.

In the mean Time the Fire that had been put to the Castle raged much; which those poor *Jews* who had chosen Life endeavoured as much as possible to quell. At Day-break the Besiegers thronged, as usual, to assault the Fortress; when the wretched Remains of the Massacre within stood upon the Walls, and in a most lamentable Manner declared the horrid Catastrophe of their Brethren; they threw their dead Bodies over the Wall, to convince them of it; and in a most suppliant and moving Manner begged Mercy, with an Assurance

* An Instance somewhat parallel to this of *Jewish* Fortitude, is in *Josephus*; who writes, that he and 40 of his Brethren hid themselves in a Cave, but being found out by the *Romans*, *Vespasian* offered them Quarter, which they all refused. *Josephus* advised them to cast Lots one after another for their Lives, and he upon whom the Lot fell was to be killed by the next Man, thus every Man to take his Fortune round. The Advice was followed and executed so far, that *Josephus* himself, by great Chance, with one other *Jew*, were all that were left alive, whom he persuaded to surrender to the *Romans*. But this he owns to *Vespasian* was contrary to *Jewish* Law and Custom, to fall alive into their Enemy's Hands. *L'Estrange's Josephus*,

all of them turning Christians. But the Heads andingleaders of these merciless Blood-Hounds, of whomRichard, says our Author, called for his BestialityMala Bestia, was the Chief, took no Compassion ontheir Sufferings. However, feigning a Concern, theJews let them into the Castle; which was no soonerdone than they slew every one of those poor Creatures,who, add our Authorities, to the last cried out for Baptism. The worthy Exploit performed, the Heroes rantrait to the Cathedral Church, where the Bonds theChristians were bound to the Jews in for Money were deposited, and violently broke open the Chests, took and burnt all the Writings in the Midst of the Church, and thus set themselves and many more free from theirvarious Usury. And, after all, each Man went hisway, the Soldiers to their Colours, and the Commons to their Houses, in as much Joy and Triumph as if they had done the most gallant and meritorious Action.

This Massacre happened at York on the 11th Day of March, Anno. 1192. Certain it is, that the Bonds in the Church, and the Plunder they expected to find in their Houses, more than a Zeal for the Christian Religion, provoked these Miscreants to commit such an inhuman Massacre; for such indeed was their Procurement, though the Jews performed the executive Part only themselves. William of Newburgh writes, that there were 500 Men took Sanctuary in the Castle, besides Women and Children; if so, this Slaughter must be very considerable; and it cannot be computed that less than 1000 or 1500 Persons were destroyed.

But we must now (Anno 1190) see what VengeanceKing Richard took on his rapacious Subjects, for committing such lawless and unprecedented Robberies. The King himself was then engaged in the Holy War; but before he left England he not only put forth the Proclamation aforesaid in Favour of the Jews, but gave them his Word and Honour they should no more be disturbed. When the News of this bloody Affair at York reached him in the Holy Land, he was in a vehement Passion that his Commands should be so far slighted; and sent Orders to the Bishop of Ely, his Chancellor and Regent, to go down in Person to York, and execute strict Justice, without Favour or Affection, on all Offenders.

ders. The Bishop, a Man of fierce Nature and proud, set out with a strong Body of Troops, and came to the City; but the chief Authors of the Riot having Notice of his coming, were fled into Scotland. He examined the Citizens with great Strictness, who denied having the least Hand in it, nor were they aiding or assisting the Rioters in any Degree, which they offered undeniably to prove. They said the whole Affair was transacted by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns, who came upon them in such Multitudes of armed Men, that they were not able, either by Force or Advice, to prevent the Consequence. This Excuse did not wholly satisfy the Bishop, for he laid a very large Fine on the City, and made each Man pay his Proportion before he left the Place. Hearing that this was done by a Precept from the High Sheriff, he removed both him and the Governor of the Castle from their Places, committed them to Prison, and gave the Government of the County to his Brother *Osbert de Longcamp* *. He built or repaired a Castle in the old Fortification which King *William Rufus* had formerly strengthened. The Commonalty of the City he did not molest, since their Ringleaders were gone off; but the Soldiers who were concerned in the Fray he caused to be punished and turned out of the Service; and after having taken 100 Hostages of the City, as Bondsmen to answer for the good Behaviour of the rest, and to the Charge of being guilty of the Death of the *Jews* before the King, he departed. These Hostages, we find, were kept at *Northampton*; and the Citizens made an Account of ten Marks to the King for their Redemption, after they had laid four Years in Custody †. Thus, says *Hemingford*, the Bishop rather sought to satisfy his own avaritious Temper by Multitudes, Fines, &c. than do the Justice he ought to have done; for not one Man, adds he, either then or since, was executed for the Villany ‡.

* *Deinde idem cancellarius tradidit Osberto de Longo Campo, fratri suo comitatum Eboracensem in custodia, et præcepit firmare castellum in veteri castellarum quod rex Willielmus Rufus ibi construxerat. Hoveden.*

† *Rot. Pipe 5. R. I. 1194.*

‡ One *Richard Malebisse*, probably of the *Acaffer* Family, paid 300 Marks for his Pardon, &c. on Account of being concerned in the

This Prelate's haughty Pride may be shewn also by another Instance *; for the Clergy of the Metropolitan Church of York, not receiving him with the Honours due to an Apostolical Legate, to wit, Procession, &c. he laid the whole Church under an Interdict; and kept it on till such Time as the Bells of the Cathedral were taken down to the Ground, and the Canons, Vicars, and other Ecclesiastics came in an humble Manner and made Submission at his Feet.

Notwithstanding this terrible Destruction of the Jews, the City was supplied with a new Colony of them, who, under the Protection of our Kings, grew rich, and lived here in great Splendor and Magnificence. That they continued Inhabitants of this City to their total Expulsion † by Edward I. and that they carried on their old Trade of Usury here, is evident from their ancient Mortgages on Lands in our Neighbourhood, some of which, with the Relaxations, we here give from a Ledger-Book anciently belonging to Fountain's Abbey.

Ex registro originali de Fontibus, p. 465. Grenehamerton.

*O*mnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris Alanus filius Alexandri de Hamerton salutem. No-veritis quod ego vendidi monachis de Fontibus duas bovatas terre in territorio de Hamerton cum testis et croftis infra villam et extra; illas, scilicet, quas prius habuerunt de me ad terminum, pro decem marcis argenti quas pacaverunt pro me Ursello Judeo Ebor. cui obligatus eram. Ita quod si ego, vel heredes mei, aut aliquis alius, clamium vel calumpniam, gravamen vel molestiam, versus predictos monachos de predicta terra cum pertinentiis unquam licebit eisdem monachis cartam meam cum talliis de predicta pecunia, quas habent penes se, prefato Judeo vel heredibus suis reddere; licebit etiam eidem Judeo vel heridibus suis, sine aliqua

O. 3

con-

the Slaughter of the Jews at York, 6 Rich. I. Again 20 Marks to have his Land restored, which was seized on that Occasion. Maddox's Excheq. 300. And that he Richard Malebisse, and Walter de Carlton and Richard de Rukeney, his Esquires, should enjoy the King's Peace to the King's Return. Rot. Pipe 4. Ric. I.

* R. Hoveden.

† The Jews were all banish'd the Realm An. 1290. 18 Edw. I. the Number of them expuls'd at this Time was 15,060 Persons, to whom the King only allowed what ready Money they had to carry with them; and the King amassed great Riches by the Sale of their Houses and Goods. Holl. Chron. Stowe.

contradictione, prefatam terram in manu sua saisire, donec de tanta pecunia eisdem monachis fuerit satisfact.

In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui.

Willielmo de Hamerton, Alano de Kyrkeby, Roberto de Muncketon, Christianis, *Leone episcopo, Aaron a Jocio Judeis Ebor. et multis aliis.*

OMnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Urfellus filius Samsonis Judeus Ebor. salutem. Noveritis quod Alanus filius Alexandri de Hamerton et heredes sui sunt quieti de omnibus debitis et demandis in quibus idem Alanus unquam michi tenebatur ab initio seculi usque ad festum sancti Michaelis anno gratie M.CC. tricesimo octavo, 1238.

In cujus rei testimonium presens scriptum littera mea Hebraica consignavi.

OMnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Urfellus filius Samsonis Judeus Ebor. salutem. Noveritis me quietum clamasse de me et heredibus meis in perpetuum monachis de Fontibus, duas bovatas terre cum pertinentiis in territorio de Hamerton, quas Alanus filius Alex. de Hamerton eis vendidit. Ita quod ego vel heredes mei versus predictos duas bovatas nichil exigere possumus aliquo tempore occasione alicujus debiti quod predictus Alanus unquam nobis debuit ab initio seculi usque ad finem seculi.

In cujus rei testimonium presens scriptum littera mea Ebrayca consignavi.

The Jews made Use of no Seals where the Figure was prominent or convex on the Wax, as forbid by their Laws; so it is supposed this Man, as well as others, signed his own Name, or some other Word, in Hebrew, as a Testimony, instead of a Seal. But Mr. Anstis, in his excellent Manuscript Treatise of ancient Seals, observes that they sometimes used Signatures which made a concave Impression, and brings a Quotation out of Maimonides, C. 3. N. 13. to prove it.

The Names of two Places in and about the City still retain the Memory of the Jews, that is Jubbergate or Jewbargate, and Jewbury or Jewburgh.

In the Reign of King John (An. 1199) the Scots had recovered their Spirits, and a War was likely to break

betwixt the two Nations *. But *John*, having Work enough cut out for him in *France* and at home, proposed a Mediation of this Affair; and a Meeting betwixt the two Kings and their Nobles was held at *York* †. Here it was agreed that *Richard* and *Henry*, Sons to *John*, should, in the Space of nine Years, marry *Margaret* and *Isabel*, Daughters to *William*, &c. For the Confirmation of which nine Noblemen of *Scotland* were delivered to the English King.

In this Assembly at *York* King *William* surrendered into the Hands of King *John* the Lands of *Cumberland*, *Huntingdonshire*, and *Northumberland*, to the Intent that he should assign them again to his Son Prince *Alexander*, who was to do Homage for the same, according to the Manner and Custom in that Case provided, for a Recognition that those Districts were held of the Kings of *England*, as superior Lords of the same.

During the intestine Troubles of *England* (*An.* 1216) betwixt King *John* and his Barons, our City is not mentioned, the more Southern Parts being only affected. Except that in the last Year of this King the Northern Barons having recovered some Strength from their last Overthrow, came and laid Siege to *York* ‡. But receiving 1000 Marks from the Inhabitants, they granted Truce to them till the Octaves of *Pentecost*.

In the Reign of *John*'s Successor, *Henry* III. || (*Anno* 1220) the Civil Broils being in some Measure appeased, that King, willing to have a strict Alliance with *Scotland*, in order to be the better able to cope with his factious Barons, came to a Convention at *York*; where, on *St. Barnabas*' Day, the King of *Scots* swore before *Pandulph*, the Pope's Legate, to take *Joan*, *Henry*'s Sister, to Wife, and in three Days after solemnly married her. This was the Lady whom the *Scots* in Derision called *Joan Makepeace*. A Name not in vain, says *Buchanan*, for from that Time there was a strict Alliance betwixt the two Kings as long as they lived. There are in the *Fœdera* two Acts of State, dated at this Time at *York*, under these Titles :

De

* *Scotch Chron.* *M. Paris.*

† The Citizens of *York* were fined 100*l.* for not coming to meet the King when he came to the City, &c. *Maddox's Excheq.* p. 392.

‡ *Sirius.*

|| *Hen.* III. *reg.* A. 4.

De sorore regis Alexandro regi Scotiæ tradend. in urra.
Dat. apud Eborum in præsentia domini Pandulphi No-
wicensis electi, domini Papæ camerarii & apost. sedis legati.
*15 die mensis Junii, anno regni nostri quarto, A. D. 1220.**

De maritagio regis Scotiæ Alexandri cum sorore regis
Angliæ. Dat. apud Ebor. die prædict.

As likewise the Jointure which *Alexander* made to his
 Queen *Joan* under this Title:

De dote concessa a rege Scotiæ sponsæ suæ Johannæ sorori
regis Angliæ. Dat. apud Eborum, ut supra †.

In the 14th Year of the Reign of *Henry III.* An. 1230, we find that Prince at *York* †, where he kept his *Christ-mas* in a most magnificent Manner, and had invited his Brother *Alexander*, King of *Scotland*, to meet him. At this Festival were present, besides the two Kings, *Otho*, the Cardinal Legate, the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Spiritual Ecclesiasticks, with the Earls, Barons, and General Officers of the Kingdom, and the King's whole Household. The King of *England*, with great Prodiggality, bestowed upon his Brother many magnificent Presents, says *M. Paris*, such as fine Horses, Rings, Jewels, precious Stones, and various other Gifts. The two Kings dined together in publick three Days successively, in the most splendid Manner, and celebrated the Festival with all imaginable Pleasure and Satisfaction. On the fourth Day they parted.

But this Interview was nothing in Comparison to another which happened at *York*, Anno 1251, betwixt the aforesaid *Henry* of *England* and *Alexander III.* Son of the former King of *Scotland*. This was so extraordinary a Meeting which our City was then honoured with, that we shall beg Leave to be very particular in the Description of it from the Monk of *St. Alban's* History, who was Contemporary and the Annalist of *Henry* the Third's Reign.

In the Year 1251, 35 *Henry III.* that Monarch came to *York* in order to marry his Daughter, just then marriageable, to *Alexander* the young King of *Scotland*; and to see the Ceremony performed with that Grandeur and

* *Rymer's Fœdera.*

† *Onnium querelarum inter Angliæ et Scotiæ reges finalis concordia; coram Othone, cardinali legato, apud Eboracum, cum multis aliis.*
 b. 15, An. 1242. *Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. I. p. 400.

‡ *M. Paris.*

Magnificence that the Nuptials betwixt two such extraordinary Personages deserved, there came also from each Kingdom a Multitude of Clergy and Laity, in order to see this great Wedding, for the Report of it had spread far and wide. Along with the King and Queen of *England* came all the Peers of the Realm. With the King of *Scotland* came his Mother, the Queen Dowager of that Kingdom, who on this Occasion was sent for from *France*. She was of the House of *Coucy*, and brought along with her divers of the *French* Nobility, who, with the *Scotch* that accompanied their King, made a grand Appearance. When they were all arrived at *York*, those who came with the King of *Scots* were carefully lodged together in one Street.

But it happened that some of the *English* Noblemen's Servants, which were called Marshals, whilst they were providing Lodgings for their Masters, fell out about them, and first fought it at Fists, then with Clubs, and lastly with Swords; in which Fray several were grievously wounded, and one slain outright. The Officers which the King of *England* had with him, who were grave and modest Men, so bestirred themselves that they appeased this Tumult, and made Peace both amongst the Servants and their Masters. The Archbishop's Officers also, lest the Scarcity of Lodgings should occasion any more such Bickerings, took Care to settle every Man according to his Quality, in as good a Manner as the Hurry would permit of.

On *Christmas-Day* *Henry* conferred the Honour of Knighthood on *Alexander* the *Scotch* King, and on 20 other young Noblemen of his Retinue. He arrayed them all in most sumptuous and elegant Habits, suitable to the Occasion. On the next Day the King of *Scots* was married to the Daughter of the King of *England*, by the Archbishop, in the Cathedral; but, to prevent the ill Consequence which might happen from such Multitudes pressing to see the Solemnity, the Ceremony was secretly and unexpectedly done very early in the Morning. Here was such a Mixture of Nations; such Crouds of *English*, *French*, and *Scotch* Nobility; such an incredible Number of Officers of War dressed in effeminate Habits, priding themselves in Silk and Sattin Ornaments, that if, adds the old Monk, I should describe to the

the full the wanton Vanities of the Age, it would occasion a Weariness, as well as Admiration, in the Ears of the Auditors. More than 1000 Military Commanders *queintly**, vulgarly speaking, clad in Silk Vestures, appeared at the Nuptials on the Part of the King of England; and the next Day throwing them by, attended in quite new Attire. The King of Scots was waited on by 60 Knights, and a great Number of Gentlemen, richly habited and adorned, which made a most gallant Appearance.

At this Meeting the King of Scotland did Homage to the King of England for some Lands he held of him in Lothian. But when King Henry urged him to do the same for the whole Realm of Scotland, as several of the Scottish King's Predecessors had done to Henry's, Alexander answered, *That he came thither peaceably to do Honour to the King of England, and by his Consent to marry his Daughter, in order to knit a stronger Friendship between them; that he could not answer such a difficult Question, which he had not besides consulted his Peers and Counsellors about.* Henry, when he heard this prudent Reply of the young Monarch, whatever might be his real Sentiments, dissembled so far as not to obstruct or darken the Glory of this great Festival by any more Discourse about it.

The Earl Marshal of England, according to an ancient Custom, demanded the King of Scotland's Palfrey as his Fee for his Knighthood: But he was also answered, *That the King of Scotland would not suffer such an Exaction; for that, if he had liked it, he might have had that Honour from some other Prince, or one of his own Nobility; but, out of Respect and Reverence to so great a King as his Neighbour and Father-in-Law was, he rather chose to bear it from his Hands than any other.* Thus, says Matthew of Paris, by Henry's Commands all other Controversies ceased.

An Instance of this young King's Humanity and good Nature is also apparent by this: Being informed that the Lord Lovel had been expelled the Court for Bribery, he was solicited to reinstate him in the King's Favour.

* *Cointise*. *M. P.* rendered *queintly* in the Glossary. *Militis vestitu serico, ut vulgariter loquamur, cointises. Sane cointise Gallis elegantia, Coint, nitidus, & nos queint eadem significatione retinemus.* Gloss. in Hist. *M. P.*

He took a fit Opportunity and fell down on his Knees before *Henry*, and would not be persuaded to rise till the King had promised to grant him his Request. This was to pardon *Lovel*, which was done, and he was afterwards made Lord Treasurer.

The two Kings spent *Christmas* jovially; in which, adds *Matthew*, if I was fully to explain the great Abundance and Diversity of Victuals, the various Changes of each Attire, the Mirth and Jollity of the Guests, with the Quantity of strong Liquor they drank, those that were not Eye-Witnesses would never credit the Recital. To give one Instance as an Example for all: The Archbishop [*Walter Grey*] himself spent upon his Royal Guests and their Company, at one Entertainment, and at the first Course, sixty fat Oxen. Sometimes they eat with him, and at other Times with King *Henry*; and whatever this transitory World could afford was exhibited in great Abundance. The Archbishop, like a Northern Prince, shewed the greatest Hospitality to all. He entertained the whole Company several Times, and in all Cases of Necessity lent his helping Hand for their better Accommodation; as in the Care of the Strangers Lodgings, providing Provender and Pasturage for their Horses; in Fuel for Fires, and Gifts of Money he satisfied all their Wants; insomuch that this Meeting, for his Master's Honour, cost him 4000 Marks. Which was all sown, adds the Monk, on a barren Soil, and never rose to his Profit. It did however this Service, that by this Magnificence he added to his usual Character, and stopped the Mouths of all invidious Slanderers.

The Nuptial Solemnities ended, with the Entertainments, the King of *Scotland* begged Leave to depart into his own Kingdom with his beautiful Bride; on whom waited Sir *Robert Norrice*, Knt. Marshal of the King's House, Sir *Stephen Bausan*, as also the Lady *Maud*, Widow of Lord *William Cantalupo*, with several others.

We shall now proceed from this Marriage to the rest of the memorable Events that have happened in our City, subjoining for the Reader's better Information, and for the Connection of the Facts, that the sudden Deaths of this young King and Queen of *Scotland*, with those of a Son and Daughter, their whole Stock of Children, followed so quick as to make a Continuation

of

of Mourning, says *Buchanan*, in that Kingdom. And Reason enough for it; the Royal Line failing by this Mortality, opened a Door for so many Titles to enter and make their Claim, as tore the whole Nation to Pieces. In the Competition, *Baliol* and *Bruce* were the most remarkable Claimants. The *English* Kings knew how to make their Advantage of this Division, and did not a little foment the Disturbance, by siding with each of these Rivals for Sovereignty as they saw Occasion.

The War was bloody on all Sides during the Reign of the three *Edwards* of *England*, and brings our City much in Question during the Continuance of it; but since nothing remarkable is met with on the Civil Affairs of the City during the rest of *Henry the Third's* Reign, we come next to give an Account of what happened in the Time of his ever-famous Son and Successor.

After *Easter*, Anno 1291, King *Edward* going to *Scotland*, staid some Time at *York*, where the famous *Welshman* *Rice ap Meredith*, before taken in *Wales*, was brought, tried for High Treason, and condemned *. He was drawn thro' the City to the Gallows, and there hanged and quartered.

Anno 1298, *Edward* I. summoned a Parliament to meet at *York* †, and in an especial Manner required his mutinous Barons to attend it on the Day after *St. Hilary*, without Excuse or Delay, accounting them Rebels that disobeyed. Accordingly came at the Summons the Earls of *Warren*, *Gloucester*, *Marshall*, *Hereford*, and *Arundel*, with *Guy* Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, in his Father's Room. Of Barons, the Lords *Henry Piercy*, *John Wals*, and Lord *Segrave*, with many more Nobles, too tedious to mention. These being assembled, the King's Confirmation of *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foresta* was read. After which the Bishop of *Carlisle*, in Pontificalibus, pronounced a heavy Curse against all those that went about to break the same. And because the *Scottish* Lords appeared not according to Summons, it was agreed that the whole *English* Army should rendezvous at *York* in *April* following, and a general Muster to be then and there taken of it. At this Parliament the Commons of the Realm granted the King the Ninth Penny of their Goods ‡; the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Clergy

* *Stowe.*† *Speed.*‡ *Daniel.*

this Province, the Tenth Penny; and the Archbishop of York, with his Clergy, a Fifth.

It was now that a Flame broke out, which burnt with violence for near a Century in the Continuance of these Scottish Wars. According to the last Summons, the Army under the Command of the Earl of Surry, whom the King had made General in his Absence, met at York. The Scotch Lords not yet coming in, though they were again summoned to do it, the Army marched on to Newcastle, and from thence to Roxburgh, which the Scots had besieged.

King Edward having finished his Business in Flanders, returned over to England, and removed the Courts of Justice to York. Here he summoned another Parliament, and also the Scotch Nobility to meet at it; which they not obeying, he issued out his Commission of Array, ordering all his Subjects to meet him in Arms at Roxburgh on John Baptist Day next ensuing, which they accordingly did. What followed was the Battle of Falkirk, a fatal Day to the Scotch, and which soon after occasioned the Conquest of the whole Kingdom *.

The King held another Parliament at York, An. 1299; from whence he proceeded, as soon as the Spring would give him Leave, to pursue his last Victory in Scotland †.

In the Year 1306, after the total Reduction of North-Britain, King Edward came to York, where he staid some Time, and from thence went to London. The Courts of King's Bench and Exchequer, after they had continued seven Years in this City, were now removed back again. These Courts of Justice, says an Historian ‡, were brought from London to York, that the King and his Council might be near one another and Scotland, to provide better for the Conquest or Defence of that Kingdom §.

Anno 1307, this great King ended his Days, in the Midst of his Conquests, at Burgh upon Sands, in Northumberland, and was buried at Westminster. He was succeeded by his Son

VOL. I.

P

Edward

* There were slain at this Battle, of the Scotch 20,000. N. Tri-
m. — 40,000. M. West. — 30,000. Knighton. — 60,000. T. Wykes.

† Knighton.

‡ Chron. T. Wykes.

§ Maddox, in his Book of the Exchequer, gives the Records of this Matter, p. 553. They were kept in the Castle of York. Ry-
ley's Placita Parl. 223.

Edward II. in whose Time Affairs took a different Turn: For this King having nothing of the Spirit or Conduct of his Father, either at the Council Board or in the Field, suffered not only all *Scotland* to be regained from him, but also had the Mortification to see a *Scottish* Army brave him in his own Dominions as far as *York*.

In the fourth Year of his Reign, *Anno 1311*, he kept his *Christmas* at *York*, where *Piers Gaveston* and his Followers, who had been banished from him by his Father, came to him and were received, says our Author*, as a Gift from Heaven. As if he foresaw an Invasion, he now caused the Walls of the City to be strongly fortified, and put in a Posture of Defence, which proved very necessary to be done.

In the eighth Year of his Reign, *Anno 1314*, after the fatal Battle of *Bannockburn*, in which the *Scotch* Historian † says we had 50,000 Men slain upon the Spot, the King himself, narrowly escaping, fled to *York*, not thinking himself safe till he got thither. Here he called a great Council of the *English* Nobles, that were spared from Slaughter, to consult what Methods he might take to restore his shattered Army, and revenge himself on *Robert Bruce*: But they could not find any Expedient for it at that Time, nor did they stir of some Years after, notwithstanding the many Provocations they received from the *Scots*.

Anno 1319, King *Edward* being informed that *Robert* King of *Scotland* was gone into *Ireland*, and had carried over with him the Flower of his Army, thought this a fit Opportunity to revenge his former Losses ‡. Accordingly he came down to *York* in order to raise an Army, but found that City and Country so thinly stocked with Inhabitants, that he was obliged to draw from the Southern and Western Parts of the Kingdom to complement his Forces.

On the 15th of *October*, the same Year, the Clerks of the Exchequer, by the King's Order, set out for *York*, with the Book called *Doomsday*, and other Records, which, with Provision, laded twenty-one Carts §. The Judges of the King's Bench came also, and sat and did Business in that City for the Space of six Months ||.

Edward

* *Stowe.* † *Buchanan.* ‡ *Ibid.* § *Stowe.*

|| The Precepts for this Removal of the Courts is in *Rymer* p. 564, dated *Ebor.* 28 *Maii*, *Anno Reg.* 12.

Edward having got an Army together, set out from York to besiege Berwick; but he was scarcely got thither * when Thomas Randolph Earl of Murray, the Scotch General, passed the River Solway, and marched another day into England, where he wasted all with Fire and Sword till he came to the very Gates of York, and had time to have taken the Queen before she could get into the City †. The City, however, he did not attempt to besiege, but burnt and destroyed the Suburbs; which done, he drew off his Men and marched back towards his own Country ‡.

The Archbishop of York §, a reverend, grave, old Divine, but a young Soldier, more for the Indignity of the Affront, says the Scotch Historian ||, than any Hopes of Success, took up Arms, and assembled such Forces as he could raise, composed of Clergymen, Monks, Canons, and other Spiritual Men of the Church, with a confused rabble of Husbandmen, Labourers, Artificers, and Tradesmen, in all to the Number of 10,000. These able Soldiers had as experienced Commanders, the Archbishop and Bishop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, being the Leaders of these warlike Troops; much fitter to pray for the success of a Battle than to fight it **. This formidable Army, breathing nothing but Revenge, followed the Scotch, but they did not follow the Proverb, *to build a bridge for a flying Enemy*, and overtook them at Myton on Swale, about eleven Miles from York. The Scotch Army finding themselves pursued, drew up on the other side of the River in Battalia. Then they set Fire to the Hay-Stacks which were upon the Place, the Smoke which driving with a brisk Wind in the Faces of the English as they passed the River, so blinded them that they could not see the Enemy, who came down in good order upon them, and without any great Resistance entirely routed them. There were slain and drowned of the English above 2000, some say 4000; the rest, with their Generals, made great Haste back to the City. In this conflict fell Nicholas Flemming, then Mayor of York, who had headed up his Citizens to the Battle. There were seven Prisoners Sir John de Pabeham, Knt. William Arden, and several others. Here was such a Fall of the

P 2

Priesthood,

Buchanan. † Daniel. ‡ Walsingham. § Will. de Melton.
Buchanan. ** Hellingbroed.

Priesthood, that the *English*, says *Buchanan*, called this Fight, for a long Time after, the *White Battle*.

This Battle was fought *October 12, 1319*. The Archbishop had Business enough to fill up Vacancies in the Church at his Return. But in an especial Manner he shewed his Gratitude to the Mayor, whose Body was honourably buried in the Parish Church of *St. Wilfred* and an Indulgence granted of forty Days Relaxation of Sin to all Parishioners thereof *, who, being truly contrite, penitent, and confessed, should say for his Soul the Lord's Prayer, and the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin. A Chantry was also founded for him in the same Church †.

King *Edward* hearing of this Overthrow as he lay before *Berwick*, raised the Siege and retired to *York*.

Whatever were the Misfortunes in the Reign of this King, they were chiefly owing to the Civil Dissensions in *England* betwixt him and his Uncle *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, with other great Lords of the Realm, which gave the *Scotch* such extraordinary Advantage over the *English* at that Time: For had this King been followed with the same Zeal his Father was, he might not only have stemmed the Tide, but perhaps have had it in his Power to have turned it against his foreign Enemies. We must allow this to be a Reason sufficient to account for most or all of his Miscarriages, as those who will consult the History of those Times may find. After various Disputes and several bloody Battles betwixt the King and his Barons, he at length entirely subdued them; for at the Battle of *Boroughbridge, An. 1321*, *Thomas Earl of Lancaster* was taken Prisoner by *Andrew Harclay*; *Humbry de Bohun Earl of Hereford*, slain, and their whole Army cut in Pieces. With the Earl were taken many more Barons, who were all brought to *York* to the King. The Barons were tried by Judges appointed for that Purpose, condemn'd, and sentenc'd to be hang'd and quarter'd; and by the Instigation of the *Spencer* says *Knighton*, the Sentence was executed upon several of them in different Parts of the Kingdom. *John de Clifford*, *Roger Lord Mowbray*, and *Sir Joceline d'Evreux* suffered at *York*. The Earl of *Lancaster*, out of Regard to his Blood and near Alliance to the King, was sent

* Mr. Torre. † See *St. Wilfred* in *Blake-street*. ‡ *Halling*

ed to be beheaded*, which was executed upon him before his own Castle at *Pontefract*. *Andrew de Harclay* for this great Piece of Service was made Earl of *Carlisle*, but he did not enjoy his new Dignity long; for hatching an Invasion with the *Scots*, he was seized at *Carlisle*, tried, condemned, and executed, and one of his Quarters placed upon the Bridge at *York*. †

The next Year (*An. 1322*) about *Ascension-Day*, King *Edward* called another Parliament at *York* ‡, wherein he exerted the regal Power to some Purpose. The whole decree, which had been passed at *London* against his favourites the *Spencers*, was thoroughly examined and entirely disannulled, and the *Spencers* restored to all their Lands and Offices. The Lord *Hugh Spencer*, the Father, was made Earl of *Winchester*; the Lord *Andrew Harclay*, mentioned above, Earl of *Carlisle*. In this Parliament were also disinherited all that had bore Arms against the King, and sided with the Barons. Here also the King made *Robert Baldock*, a Man very ill beloved, Lord Chancellor.

At this Parliament the King caused all the Ordinances made by the Barons to be examined by Men skilled in the Laws; and such as were thought necessary to be established, he commanded to be called *Statutes*. A great Subsidy was now granted to the King by the temporality; and the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* gave Fivepence out of every Mark; those of this Province Fourpence.

With this Supply *Edward* raised so great an Army, that he thought nothing could resist it, and marched to *Scotland*: But his ill Fortune still pursued him; for meeting with no Forage to support his Troops, the *Scots* having purposely destroyed it, he was obliged to retire to *England*. *Robert the Scotch King*, perceiving this, watched his Motions so narrowly, that he surprized him at Dinner; some say in *Byland Abby*, about fourteen Miles from *York*, and falling upon his Forces unawares,

P. 3,

they

* This Judgment is inrolled in the *King's Bench*, *Hilary Term*, *Ed. II. Rot. 34.*

† *Dag. Bar.*

‡ An Act of State is in the *Fœdera*, with this Title: *De parliamentis super apud Ripon summonitis, apud Ebor. tenend. teste Rege apud Ebor. 4 die Novembris, 1322.*

they were easily routed and put to Flight *. The Scots took several Prisoners, amongst whom was *John de Dreux*, Earl of *Richmond* and Duke of *Britain*. The King himself narrowly escaped, by the Goodness of his Horse, to the City of *York*, where he staid some Months, kept his *Christmas*, and diverted the Chagrin his last Overthrow had given him by all the Amusements he could compass.

In short, the whole Life of this unfortunate Prince was almost a continued Series of ill Accidents; yet he was a Prince, says *Daniel*, rather weak than wicked; and whatever Exorbitancies he might commit, he was outdone by his People, adds he, in the rough and scandalous Usage he received from them most of his Reign; and being at last deposed by his Queen and Son, he was barbarously murdered in his Imprisonment in *Berkeley Castle*, which is one Instance of King *Charles the First*'s remarkable Annotation, *That there is but a small Space betwixt the Prisons and Graves of Princes*.

Edward III. was crowned King of *England* (*An. 1327*) at fourteen Years of Age. In the very first Year of his Reign the Scots entered *England* with two powerful Armies, under the Conduct of two famous Generals, *Thomas Randolph* and *James Douglas*. These were sent, says *Buchanan*, with 20,000 gallant Light Horse, but no Foot, by King *Robert*, and penetrated as far as *Stanhope-Park* in *Weardale*. When the young King was apprised of this, he ordered a general Rendezvous of the whole Army at *York*, in order to put a Stop to these bold Invaders. The Scots had then so mean an Opinion of the *English* Valour, occasioned by their many Victories in the last Reign, that they derided them in the most scurrilous Manner, and got this Distich put up over the Church-Door of *St. Peter's*, opposite to *Stamgate* in *York*, says our Author, when the King was in the City. †

*Long Beards heartless, painted Hoods witless,
Gay Coats graceless, makes England thrifless.*

This Taunt was thrown at the *English* in those Days, say our Historians, as well upon Account of their Pettishanimity, as their Dress and Length of Beard; but

* *Buchanan*,

† *Hollingshead*, &c.

was not long before these Deriders of *English* Manhood were called to so strict an Account, that the Smart of it was felt for some Ages after.

Whilst the King lay at *York*, preparing for this Expedition against the *Scots*, there came to his Aid *John Lord Beaumont* of *Hainault*, said to be one of the most gallant Knights then in the World. *Froisart* has given us the Names of divers other Knights and Commanders that accompanied this Lord, which, with his own Retinue, made up 500 Men. *Knigh-ton* says the Number of all the Foreigners, that came to gain Honour under this hopeful young King, amounted to 2000. The King assigned Lodgings to most of these Strangers in the Suburbs; but to Lord *John* himself he allotted an Abby of White Monks* in the City for the Residence of him and his Attendants. The King, with the Queen-Mother, lodged in the Monastery belonging to the Friars Minors†, which must have been a stately Building in those Days; for we are told they each kept Court apart in it. The King's was very magnificent in order to do Honour to the Strangers, and such Care was taken that Provisions of all Kinds were both plentiful and cheap. The City and Country, says our Authority, were rich, and flourished in Abundance; and tho' the King laid here six Weeks with an Army of 60,000 Men about him, yet all that Time the Price of Provisions was nothing raised, but every Thing was sold as reasonable as it was before. There was Plenty of *Rhenish*, *Gascoign*, and *Anjowan* Wines‡, with Pullein, Wild Fowl, and other Provision of that Kind at moderate Rates. Hay, Oats, &c. were daily brought to the Strangers Lodgings for their Use; so that they had great Reason to be well satisfied with their Entertainment.

But this Prosperity had liked to have proved very fatal to them; for presuming much on the King's Favour and Protection, they carried themselves with all imaginable Haughtiness towards his Subjects. The *English* resented this Usage as they ought, and a Contention begun, which ended not without much Bloodshed on both Sides.

On

* *Froisart*.

† *La maison de freres mineurs*. *Froisart*.

‡ *Froisart* calls it *Vin d'Aussois*, which his Annotator supposes to be Wine of *Alsace sur de Rhine*.

On *Trinity-Sunday* the King, for the Sake of these strange Lords, held a solemn and magnificent Feast at the Friary aforesaid *. To his usual Attendance of 500 Knights, he then added 50 more; and the Queen, his Mother, had in her Retinue 60 Ladies of the greatest Rank and Beauty in the Kingdom. There was that Day, says our Author, a most splendid Entertainment; and a truly royal Shew of whatever was choice and excellent: At Night there was a most gallant Ball; but whilst the Lords and Ladies were in the Midst of their Diversions, a strange and hideous Noise interrupted them, and alarmed the whole Court. It seems the Servants and Pages of these foreign Auxiliaries had, by their Insolence, so exasperated the Minds of some *English* Archers †, who lodged with them in the Suburbs, that a great Fray began amongst them. This Discord continually increased, new Abettors successively coming in on each Side, till near 3000 of the Archers being gathered together, many of the *Hainaulters* were slain, and the rest flying were fain to enter their Lodgings, and fortify themselves as well as they could against the Fury of their Enemies. Most Part of the Knights their Commanders were at Court; but on the first Noise of the Fray they hastened to their Lodgings to defend themselves and their People. Some Part of the City was fired in the Disturbance, many of the *Hainaulters* were slain and more hurt; but at last, by the Authority of the King, and earnest Endeavours of the Queen-Mother, who had a great Affection for the Foreigners, the Archers were stayed, and the Quarrel ceased for that Time. ‡ But that very Night the Strangers, not so much thinking of Sleep as Revenge, being now headed by their Commanders, arose privately, and joining together set upon the Archers of *Lincolnshire* and *Northamptonshire*, for the Men of each County were marshalled and quartered by themselves, and slew 300 of them. In the Morning they certainly had paid dear for this desperate Action, for a Body of 6000 *English* Soldiers had combined together to kill them every Man, either within Doors or without, as they could come at them; but that the King took Care to protect his Foreigners, by setting strong Guards about their Lodgings, and dis-

placing,

* *Froisart.* † *Knignton.* ‡ *Froisart.*

placing the Archers from their former Quarters. However the Strangers were so uneasy that they scarce durst sleep, but kept good Watch, their Horses ready saddled and their Arms at Hand for a Month together after this; so well they knew it behoved them, says *Joshua Barnes**, to look about them after such an egregious Affront to the common Soldiery of England. Of the English slain in this Conflict, there were 80 *Lincolnshire* Men † buried under one Stone in the Church-Yard belonging to the now demolished Church of St. Clement in *Fossgate*.

King Edward had lain at York with his vast Army for three Weeks, when the Scotch Ambassadors arrived there in order to treat of Peace; and when in three Weeks more no Terms of Accommodation could be agreed on betwixt the two contending Powers, the Ambassadors returned, and the King gave Command that in a Week's Time every Man should be ready to march against the Enemy; that such, to whom the Care was committed, should find and provide Carts, Waggones, &c. for the Carriage of Tents, Pavillions, and other Warlike Preparations proper for the Expedition. This done, at the Day appointed the King and all his Barons, with their whole Army, began their March from York, all gallantly armed, with Trumpets sounding, and Banners waving in the Wind. *J. Barnes* has collected the Names of many Nobles who were with the King at York, and attended him in this Expedition, which would be too tedious here to mention. But we must not omit taking Notice, that the foreign Troops, both in their March and in their Quarters, were placed immediately next the King's own Guards, as well to secure them from the Archers, who still meditated Revenge, as to do them the greater Honour; and to let the whole Army know, that whoever sought their Damage, would at the same Time highly trespass upon the King himself.

In the *Fædera* we find a Mandate from the King for putting the City of York into a Posture of Defence, which

* *J. Barnes's Edward III.*

† The Henauers and the Englishmen saute by Chavnce on Trinite Sundaye at York, where 80 *Lincolnshiremen* were sleyn, and buried under a Stone in St. Clement Chirch Trove in *Fossgate*. *Leland Coll.* out of a Chronicle in *Peter College Library*.

which we shall beg Leave to give the following Translation of : *

The King to his well-beloved the Mayor and Bailiffs of his City of York, greeting.

SINCE the Scots, our Enemies and Rebels, have thought fit to enter our Kingdom in an hostile Manner near *Carlisle*, with all their Power, as we are certainly informed, and kill, burn, destroy, and act other Mischiefs as far as they are able, we have drawn down our Army in order, by God's Assistance, to restrain their Malice, and to that End turn our Steps towards that Country and those Enemies.

We considering our aforesaid City of *York*, especially whilst *Isbell* Queen of *England*, our most dear Mother, our Brother and Sisters † abide in the same, to be more safely kept and guarded, lest any sudden Danger from our Enemy's Approach should happen to the said City, or Fear or Fright to our Mother, Brother and Sisters, which God avert, for Want of sufficient Munition and Guard,

We strictly command and charge you, upon your Faiths and Allegiance, and on the Forfeiture of every Thing you can forfeit to us, immediately at Sight of these Presents, without Excuse or Delay, to inspect and overlook all your Walls, Ditches, and Towers, and the Ammunition proper for the Defence of the said City, taking with you such of our faithful Servants as will be chosen for this Purpose; and to take such Order for its Defence, that no Danger can happen to the City by Neglect of such Safe-Guards.

And we by these Presents give you full Power and Authority to distrain and compell all and singular Owners of Houses or Rents in the said City, or Merchants or Strangers inhabiting the same, by the Seizure of their Bodies or Goods, to be aiding towards the Security of the Walls, Bulwarks, or Towers, as you in your Discretion shall think fit to ordain, for the making other useful and necessary Works about it; punishing all those that

* *Rymer's Fœdera, sub An. 1327.*

† Prince *John* of *Eltham*, and the Princesses *Jean* and *Eleanor*. See *Speed's Chron.*

that are found to contradict or rebel against this Order by Imprisonment, or what other Methods you think fit.

Study therefore to use such Diligence in the Execution of the Premises, that we may find it in the Effect of your Works; and that we may have no Occasion from your Negligence, should Danger happen, to take severe Notice of you.

Dated at Durham, July 15, A. 1327.

By the KING.

This special Mandate sensibly shews that the King and his Council were in great Fear of the Scots at that Time, lest, whilst he was hunting them more Northward, they should slip him and attempt something upon York, as they had done in the former Reign.

We shall follow Edward no farther in this Expedition, than just to hint that the Scotch Army was at length overtaken, and being cooped up by the English in Stanhope-Park for fifteen Days, were almost famished, and upon the Point of surrendering; when, by the Treachery of Lord Mortimer, as is said, they slipped through Edward's Fingers, and shewed that they were really what Buchanan calls them, *Light Horsemen*, by an expeditionary March into their own Country. The young King, greatly chagrined at missing his Prey, when it was already in his Net, returned back to York, and went from thence to London.

Lord John of Hainault was bounteously rewarded by the King notwithstanding the Disappointment, and honourably sent back into his own Country. The next Year he returned with his Niece Philippa, Daughter to William Earl of Hainault, his Brother, and with a great Retinue conducted her to York, where the Court then was, in order for her Marriage with the King of England in that City.

Before we enter upon a Description of the Ceremony of this grand Affair, it will be necessary to premise somewhat relating to this Princess, who is spoken of by all Historians as the most celebrated Beauty of the Age she lived in. Philippa was the youngest Daughter of William Earl of Hainault and Holland, and Jane de Valois: She was, says J. Barnes, a most beautiful lovely Creature, the Mirror of her Sex, and was then scarce fourteen Years old.

old. The Persons sent about this Treaty of Marriage were Dr. *Roger Northborough*, Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Conventry*, two Knights Bannerets, and two other Gentlemen learned in the Laws. These Persons had Commission to treat with the Earl, and choose a Wife for their King out of his five Daughters. The Ambassadors, attended with an honourable Equipage, came to *Valenciennes*, the chief City of *Hainault*; the Earl *William* and his Countess received them very gladly, and entertained them with great Splendor and Magnificence. Upon a set Day the Earl brought out his five Daughters before them, to take their Choice of. At the Sight of so much Beauty and delicate Shapes they all stood amazed, not knowing to which to give the Preference; till the piercing Eye of the Bishop observing with good Heed the Lady *Philippa* to be of a good sanguine Complexion agreeing with that of the King's, he secretly advised his Colleagues that she was the Lady most likely, by her sweet Disposition, to please the King their Master, and also to bring forth a numerous and hopeful Progeny, his Judgment prevailed, and *Philippa*, though the youngest of the Ladies, was pitched upon for their Queen.

The King kept his *Christmas* at *York*, Anno 1328, in great State and Magnificence; and, before the Solemnity of the Festival was ended, Lord *John* of *Hainault* arrived with his beautiful Niece and a very numerous Attendance. They were received by the young King with all the Pomp and Ceremony so great a Monarch could possibly shew on this extraordinary Occasion: Jufts, Tournaments, Triumphs, Plays, and all other Pastimes then in Use, were exhibited, in order to testify his Joy, and do the greater Honour to his charming Bride.

On the 24th of *January*, being *Sunday*, the Eve of *St. Paul's* Conversion, the Marriage was publicly solemnized in the Cathedral; at which Solemnity the Most Reverend Dr. *William Melton*, Archbishop of *York*, and the Right Reverend Dr. *John Hotbam*, Bishop of *Ely*, sang the Mass. Upon these happy Nuptials the whole Kingdom teemed with Joy, and the Court at *York* expressed it in a more than ordinary Manner; for there were nothing, says *Froisart*, but Jufts and Tournaments in the Day-time, Maskings, Revels, and Interludes, with Songs and

Dances

Dances in the Evenings, along with continual feasting for three Weeks together.

Queen *Philippa* proved very prolifick, for she bore King *Edward* seven Sons and three Daughters almost in the Space of as many Years.

During this great Concourse at *York* the *Hainaulters*, still bearing Malice in their Hearts, set Fire to, and almost consumed, a whole Parish in the Suburbs of the City, by reason of a Difference raised betwixt the Inhabitants and them. The Cause was no mean one, for the Strangers had made bold to ravish several of the others Wives, Daughters, and Maid Servants. The *Suburbians*, provoked at such outrageous Proceedings, challenged the *Hainaulters* to fight them; and a select Company of each, well armed, one *Wednesday* before *Sundown*, *dormiente tota Civitate*, says our Authority*, met in a Street called *Watlingate*, and fought their Quarrel fairly out. In this Conflict were slain, and drowned in the River *Ouse*, of the *Hainaulters* 527, besides those who were mortally wounded and died soon after. Of the *English* fell likewise 242.

We look upon this Account to be true, notwithstanding that we have no other Testimony than the *Collectanea* to support it. The Contest in the preceding Year was still fresh in their Memories, and a new Provocation would easily stir up a Resentment. The Affair might be so hush'd up, out of Respect to the Queen's Countrymen, that few Historians of that Age could come to the Knowledge of it, and there is no Circumstance in the Relation which can make it be taken for the Tumult before mentioned. It is certain these Foreigners behaved very insolently to the *English* at both Times of their coming to *York*, which our ancient *British* Spirit could ill bear, without endeavouring to retaliate the Affront. The former Contest shews a just Resentment of Injuries in the *English* in general; and the latter is an evident Proof, to our present Citizens, of the Spirit and Valour of their Ancestors.

King *Edward* summoned a Parliament to meet at *York*, *Anno* 1332, but the special Affairs that should have been done at it, were frustrated by the Squabbles which

VOL. I.

Q

happened

happened betwixt the two Archbishops about the bearing their Crosses in each other's Province*.

The King, in his March to *Scotland*, staid and kept his *Christmas* at *York*. From thence he proceeded on his Journey; and having pretty well adjusted Matters with King *Baliol*, he returned to this City to hold a Parliament which had been summoned to meet here on the Day before *St. Peter in Cathedra*, being *Feb. 21, 1334*†.

Joshua Barnes has collected all the Statutes and other Transactions done and agreed to at this Session of Parliament, which lasted from the Date above to *May 13*. But as we choose not to swell our Subject with what is unnecessary, we shall omit them.

It appears in *Cotton's Collections*, published by *Prynne*, that in the Reigns of *Edward II.* and *Edward III.* there were no less than twelve Parliaments held at *York* under these Years, 3. 8. 12. 12. 13. 15. *Ed. II.* and 1. 2. 6. 7. 9. 10. *Ed. III.*

At this Meeting of the King, Lords and Commons of *England*, *John Baliol*, King of *Scotland*, was to have done particular Homage to *Edward* for holding that Kingdom; but his Affairs were then at so low an Ebb, that he durst not trust himself for Fear of being seized by the *Scotch* Lords in his Journey: So he sent the Lords *Beaumont* and *Montacute* to *York* to excuse him to *Edward*.

During the Wars in *France*, in which *Edward*, and his ever-renowned Son the *Black Prince*, won such signal Victories, *David Bruce*, *Baliol's* Competitor, undertook to invade *England*, which was then left to the sole Governance of the Queen. *David* made himself sure of Conquest, and resolved to destroy the Towns and Country with Fire and Sword till he came to *York*, where he only expected Opposition (four Towns excepted, viz. *Hexham*, *Corbridge*, *Durham*, and *Darlington*, which he was advised to spare, and keep as Store-Houses for his Army's Subsistence). With this Resolution he entered *England* in 1347; and, meeting none to oppose him, dealt his Fire and Sword about unmercifully, and really penetrated so far, that some of his Army burnt Part of the Suburbs of *York*, but after retired to their main Body.

Philippa, our ever-famous Queen, was then in *York*; and, though a Woman, shewed in this Case such Cou-

* *J. Barnes.*

† *A. A. Pub.*

age and Conduct, as was worthy the Wife and Mother of such a Husband and Son *. She got what Forces she could together at York, and from thence marched in Person with them against the Enemy. The Scots, not expecting such a Visit, were drawn to Battle at a Place called *Nevil's Cross*, near *Durham*, and after an obstinate Resistance were wholly routed, 15,000 of their Men lying left dead upon the Spot, and their King himself taken Prisoner †. The Archbishop of York, *William de Zouch*, commanded the second Corps of the English Army, and behaved very gallantly in the Fight.

After the Battle the victorious Queen return'd to York with great Joy and Triumph, where King *David* was soon after delivered to her by *John Coplande* (who took him Prisoner) with much Ceremony ‡. The Queen staid in the City till she had seen it strongly fortified; and then, leaving the Lords *Percy* and *Nevill* to govern the North, she returned to *London*, carrying her Royal Prisoner along with her to present to her Husband.

Anno 1348 began a great Mortality in the City of York, which continued to spread with great Violence from *Ascension-Day* to the Feast of St. *James* the Apostle §. The rest of *Edward* the Third's glorious Reign being chiefly employed in the Wars of *France*, is therefore foreign to our Purpose: We shall only say that *William Hatfield*, the second Son of *Edward*, by his Queen *Philippa*, died young, and was buried in our Cathedral ||. And *Edmund Langley*, the fifth Son, was, in the Reign of his Successor, made the first Duke of York.

Richard II. began his Reign Anno 1377, in the Course of which were no Feats of War concerning us; but in Civil Affairs, by the King's especial Grace and Favour, our Honours, Privileges, and Immunities were granted.

Anno 1385 we find this King at York in an Expedition he made against the Scots, which was only memorable for the Death of Lord *Ralph Stafford*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Stafford*, who was slain in the Fields near *Wepthorp* by Sir *John Holland*, the King's Half-Brother **. The Occasion of the Quarrel, and the King's

Q 2

Resent-

Freisart. † *Hollinghead*, Oct. 17, 1347. ‡ *Hollinghead*.
Abb. Act. Pont. Ebor. || *Speed.* ** *Knighton.*

Repentment, are Matters inserted at large in *Stowe* and *Hollinghead*, and therefore unnecessary here.

Anno 1389 came King *Richard* to *York*, says *Knights* in order to accommodate some Differences which had arisen betwixt the Archbishop, the Dean and Chapter and the Mayor and Commonalty of the City. The Affair was of great Consequence; but the King, by excellent Management, perfectly settled it *, and, as our Authority speaks, was so favourable to the Citizens as to grant them almost all they desired of him. It was at this Time (say our own Records) King *Richard* took his Sword from his Side, and gave it to be borne before *William de Selby*, as first Lord Mayor of *York*.

Anno 1390 a contagious Distemper began in the Northern Parts, and swept out of *York*, in a very small Time, 1100 Persons †; and in the next Year the same Kind of Pestilence, we suppose, broke out with great Violence all over *England*, and, as our Authorities testify, there died, in the City of *York* only, 11,000 in short Space.

The Courts of King's Bench and Chancery were removed from *London* to *York*, Anno 1392, at the Instigation of *Thomas Arundel*, then Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*. This was designed for the Benefit of the City, but they remained here only from Midsummer to Christmas, and then returned. In the Year King *Richard* presented the first Mace to the City to be borne before the Lord Mayor thereof. And,

Anno 1396, in the 19th Year of his Reign, he appointed two Sheriffs instead of three Bailiffs, and made it a County of itself; which, with several Privileges and large Immunities recited in the Charter granted by the King to the City and Citizens of *York*, prove that he paid an extraordinary Regard to it.

Nor were the Inhabitants unmindful of these Royal Concessions and great Benefactions, but took the first Opportunity to testify their Loyalty and Gratitude to *Richard*, even after his Deposition and Murder. That though it cost them dear, deserves a perpetual Memorial because the Efforts they made proceeded purely from the Principles above.

* *Causa igitur hujusmodi cum luculento consilio ad plerumque regum discissa, reddidit rex civibus, quasi in omnibus, votum suum. Knights*
† *Stowe. Hollinghead.*

The Subject of the Deposition of this Prince, and his most execrable Murder, is a Theme so melancholy, that our City, to their great Honour, had nothing to do with it.

Anno 1399, Henry IV. having, by the Assistance of his Friends, the Malecontents of England, deposed his lawful Sovereign, mounted his Throne, and imprisoned him in Pontefract Castle, where he was soon after most inhumanly put to Death.

Anno 1405, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was chief Instrument of King Henry's Exaltation; but not long after having lost his Brother and Son, slain at the Battle of Shrewsbury*, he confederated with the Archbishop of York, Richard Scroop, whose Brother the King had beheaded, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal, whose Father died an Exile in Venice, all mortal Enemies to Henry, and concerted his Ruin. The Lords Fauconberg, Bardolf, Hastings, and many others joined them in this Conspiracy. They had agreed to meet at York, at a Time appointed, where the Earl of Northumberland was to take the supreme Command of their united Forces: But the Archbishop's Impatience frustrated the Design; for being retired from Court to his See, together with the Earl Marshal, he thought to facilitate the Enterprize by giving the Cause a Sanction of religious Justice. And having framed several Articles against the King, and sent Copies of them into other Counties, he caused them to be fixed upon the Church-Doors of his own City and Diocese. This was to invite the People to take Arms, in order to reform Abuses introduced by the ill Management of the present Government. The Archbishop was of an amiable Countenance, of great Learning and Virtue, and having till this present led a blameless Life, he was far from being suspected of any evil Intentions; so that when he was pleased to declare his Mind to the People in a Sermon which he preached to them in his Cathedral, full 20,000 Men suddenly rose and came to his Standard at York, which Standard was painted with the five Wounds of our Saviour. †

This Diligence was unseasonable both for the Archbishop and his Confederates ‡; for Henry, by this Means, having early Notice of their Intentions, had levied thirty

Q 3

thousand

* Biendi.

† T. Walsingham.

‡ Hollingshead.

thousand fighting Men, and sent them, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Westmoreland** and his own Son *John*†, against these Northern Malecontents. At their coming to *York* the Earl found the Archbishop so advantageously encamped on the Forest of *Galtrys*, just without the City, that he did not think fit to attack him, though much inferior in Forces, but encamped his Army right over against the other. And now the Earl changing the Lion's Skin for the Fox's, and following the French Adage, *à défaut de la force il faut employer le ruse*, sent the Archbishop Word, *That he wondered a Man of his Profession should be found in such a Posture, since he could not shew any Reason why he should arm the King's People contrary to the King's Peace.* To which the Archbishop mildly answered, *That he was so far from infringing the King's Peace, that all which he did tended to the Preservation of it.* Upon this, entering into the Merits of the Cause on either Side, a Treaty was begun, and the Articles of Grievances shewn; which, for the Earl's better Satisfaction, the Archbishop thought fit to send him by a Gentleman of his own. The Earl, though he was determined what to do in the Case, seemed to rest satisfied with the Justness of them; but said, *That a Business of this high Nature being in Question, it was requisite they should meet together and treat thereof, which might easily be done, each of them bringing a like Number of Men betwixt the two Camps*‡. There is no Net, says the polite *Italian*§, so secure as that which is spread in Commendation of him who is to be deceived. For the good Archbishop, measuring other Men's Consciences by his own, hearing his Actions applauded by one he thought his Enemy, was confident he could bring the Earl over to his Interest, and therefore made no Difficulty to give him the Meeting; and, which is more, brought the Earl Marshal, reluctant enough, along with him.

* *Ralph Nevill Earl of Westmoreland.*

† *John Earl of Lancaster, afterwards Duke of Bedford.*

‡ This whole Controversy is elegantly described in *Shakespeare's* Historical Play of *Henry IV.*

§ *Sir Francis Biondi, Knight, an Italian, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King Charles I. wrote an elegant History, as* *Henry Nicolson* justly calls it, in his own Language, of the Civil War betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, translated into *English* by *Henry Earl of Monmouth.*

At this Meeting, with equal Numbers betwixt the two Camps, *Westmoreland*, after some short Discourse, seemed perfectly satisfied, and professed, *That in so just a Cause, he himself would fight to the last of his Life.* The Generals then shook Hands in Sight of both Armies; Wine was called for, and drank about in Token of Friendship and mutual Love. And now the Earl said to the Archbishop, *That their Differences being ended in a joint Consent, it was not expedient to detain any longer so many People, with so much Inconvenience to themselves, from their Houses and Shops; but that being suddenly disbanded, it was but Reason they should together with them enjoy the Fruits of the established Reconciliation.* The Archbishop believed the Earl, and his People him, who immediately broke up their Camp and returned to the City, joyful enough no doubt to avoid a Battle, and go back to their Shops, from which they were most of them taken. The Bowls of Wine in the mean Time went briskly round; whilst the Earl's Party, scattered at first, imperceptibly gathering one by one together, grew to such a Multitude, that he arrested the Archbishop for High Treason upon the Spot, as also the Earl Marshal; notwithstanding this he plighted his Faith to them that they should not suffer in their Lives: But meeting the King at *Pontefract* as he was hastening to *York*, he brought back with him the Prisoners, who, says *Biondi*, much commiserated and bemoaned, were adjudged to die, and were forthwith beheaded.

There fell along with the Archbishop and Earl Marshal Sir *John Lamplugh*, Sir *Robert Plumpton*, with several others. The Earl's Body was, by the King's Permission, says *Walsingham*, suffered to be buried in the Cathedral; but his Head, fixed upon a Stake, stood on the City Bridge till the King, by his Writ dated the 6th of *August*, in the sixth Year of his Reign, commanded it to be removed.

And now *Henry* took ample Vengeance on the Citizens of *York* for siding with their Archbishop; for we find in the Public Acts the following Mandate directed to two of his Captains, as we suppose them to be.

*The King to his chosen and faithful Servants John Stanley
and Roger Leeche, Greeting: **

KNOW ye that for certain special Causes, intimately concerning us and the State of our Kingdom of *England*, we do assign you, together or separately, our City of *York*, together with all and singular Liberties, Franchises, and Privileges to the Citizens of the said City, by our Progenitors or Predecessors sometime Kings of *England*, or ourself, before this Time granted and confirmed, to take and seize into our Hands; and the said City thus taken and seized, till further Orders from us, in our Name to keep and govern.

And therefore we command you, or either of you, diligently to take Heed to the Premises, and that you should do and execute them in the Manner aforesaid.

Also we command all and singular High Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and their Officers, and all other our faithful Subjects, as well within Liberties as without, by the Tenor of these Presents, strictly to aid and assist you, or either of you, in the Execution of the Premises, being helpful, advising, and obedient to you as they ought.

In Testimony of which, &c.

*Witness the King at his Castle of Pontefract the third
Day of June, 1405, in the sixth Year of his Reign.*

By the KING.

This severe Mandate from *Henry* fell like a Clap of Thunder on our City, and was sent before him as a Taste of what they were to expect at his Arrival †. What followed were Trials, Executions, Pains, Penalties, and grievous Fines, which he imposed and exacted with great Rigour on all the Citizens who had followed the Archbishop ‡. After which he marched Northward against the Earl of *Northumberland*, who hearing of the Fate of his Confederates, had retired to his Government of *Berwick*: But *Henry* not thinking it politic to leave so many vexed Spirits behind him, who might expect worse Treatment at his Return, by the Advice of his Council sent back a general Pardon, dated from *Ripon* ¶, and directed to the High Sheriffs of several Counties for all the Archbishop's Adherents, amongst those our City received.

* Aft. Pub. tom. vii. † *Hollingshead*. ‡ *Biondi*. ¶ Aft. Pub.

received the same Favour; which, though thinned in its Inhabitants and stripped of its Treasure, yet was now reinstated in its former Privileges.

In 1408 King *Henry* made *York* another Visit on much the same Errand as before; for we are told that after the Discomfiture of the Earl of *Northumberland's* Forces, by Sir *Thomas Rokeby*, High Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, on *Bramham-Moor*, where the old Earl was slain*, the King came to *York*, where what he had left undone before was now compleated in the Executions and Confiscations of several Citizens, though we do not find they had aided the Earl in his Enterprize. Amongst those that suffered Death was the Abbot of *Hales*, who, being taken in Armour at the Battle, was here executed. The Earl of *Northumberland*, the chief Instrument in deposing *Richard* and raising up this *Henry*, after having the Misfortune to live to see most of his Family cut off before him, was himself slain at this Battle†. His Head, covered with Silver Hairs, being put upon a Stake, was carried, in a Kind of mock Procession, thro' all the Towns to *London*, and then placed on the Bridge, where, says *Hollingshead*, it long stood as a Monument of Divine Justice.

Our Chronicles mention nothing more relating to our City in *Henry* the Fourth's Reign, except taking Notice that in the second Year of it, at his Return out of *Scotland*, he came to *York* and saw a Duel, or martial Combat by Challenge, fought there betwixt two foreign and two *English* Knights, in which the latter prevailed. One of the *English*, Sir *John Cornwall*, so pleased the King by his Valour shewn in the Combat, that he gave him his Sister, the Widow of *John* Earl of *Holland* and *Huntingdon*, to Wife‡.

In 1412 *Henry* V. began his short, but glorious Reign, which may also be called a politic one; for by amusing his People in carrying on a prosperous War in *France*, he kept them from prying into his Title at home. Our Chronicles produce very little to our Purpose during his Time; but our City's old Registers give a Mandate from this King to the Lord Mayor of *York*, to seize and confiscate the Estate and Effects of *Thomas* Lord *Scrope* of *Masbam*, beheaded for High Treason at

South-

* *Stowe.*

† *Dug. Bar.*

‡ *Speed.*

Southampton in the first Year of his Reign. His Head came along with the Mandate, by which it was ordered to be placed on the Top of *Micklegate-Bar*. This Lord *Scrope* was Lord Treasurer of *England*, and had married *Joan* Duchess Dowager of *York*.

The Proceedings in this Matter, taken from the City Registers, are in the following Words:

D*IE* Mercurii, viz. Ultima die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo quadrigentesimo decimo quinto, et regni regis Henrici quinti, post conquestum Angliæ anno tertio. Dominus Richardus de York, comes Cantabrigiæ, frater honorabilis ducis domini Edwardi ducis Ebor. necnon dominus Henricus dominus Lescrop de Masham, quem dictus dominus rex plus aliis diligebat, et cui contra quam plures sibi emulos gratitudinis maxima insignia exhibebat, et dominus Thomas Gray de Heton arrestati fuerunt apud castrum de Porchester juxta Southampton, pro quibusdam proditiionibus contra ligeantiam suam in destructionem personæ dicti domini nostri regis nequiter præexcogitatis, et per ipsos sponte voluntarie et sine vi publice confessatis, et post modum die Lunæ, viz. Quinto die mensis Augusti annis domini et regis prædictis, iidem domini Richardus, Henricus, et Thomas apud Southampton, causante proditiione eorum fuerunt adjudicati morti et postea decollati, et caput dicti domini Henrici Lescrop positum super portam de Mickellyth, Ebor. post cujus mortem, Willielmus Alne tunc major et escaetor infra civitatem et suburbia ac precinctum civitatis Ebor. quam plura bona ejusdem domini Lescrop in thesaurario ecclesiæ cathedralis Ebor. existentia, ad usum domini nostri regis prædicti confiscari nitebatur et illuc veniens ibidem invenit Johannem Waterton, armigerum, et Petrum de la Hay, escaetores domini regis in comitatu Ebor. de bonis prædictis se intromittentes, et hoc comperto, dictus Willielmus Alne, major et escaetor prædictus in presentia nonnullorum civium dictæ civitatis eis inibuit, ne quidquam attemptare præsumerent. Quod libertatem ejusdem civitatis cum ex concessione nonnullorum regum et confirmationum præfati domini nostri regis Angliæ officium escaetoris in quibuscunque locis dictæ civitatis suburbiiisque et procinctu ejusdem, ubilibet ad majorem dictæ civitatis qui pro tempore fuerit, pertinuit et debet pertinere. Et memoratus Johannes Waterton, asse-

quod non erat intentionis suæ libertatibus ipsius ci-
 vitatis præjudicare in aliquo: imo hoc quod in hoc casu facere
 videbatur id fecit virtute quarundam literarum domini
 regis sibi specialiter directarum quas ostendit ibidem
 earum tenor sequitur et est talis: Henricus, Dei gratia,
 Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et dominus Hiberniæ, dilecto sibi
 Johanni Waterton, armigero, salutem. Sciatis quod qui-
 busdam certis de causis nos ad præsens specialiter morventibus
 assignavimus vos ad omnia et singula bona et cattalla quæ
 fuerunt Henrici Lescrop, qui erga nos et ligeantiam nos-
 tram forisfecit, et quæ occasione illa nobis pertinent et perti-
 nere debent, ubicunque fuerint inventa, sine dilatione arre-
 standum, et ea sub hujusmodi arresto quousque aliud inde
 auerimus demandandum salve et secure custodiendum seu
 custodiri faciendum. Et ideo vobis præcipimus quod circa
 præmissa diligenter intendatis et ea faciatis et exequamini
 in forma prædicta. Damus autem universis et singulis
 viris majoribus, ballivis, constabulariis, ministris, ac aliis
 fidelibus et subditis nostris tam infra libertates quam extra
 tenere præsentium firmiter in mandatis quod vobis in exe-
 cutione præmissorum intendentes sint, consulentes et auxili-
 antes, prout decet. In cujus rei testimonium has literas
 nostras fieri fecimus patentes teste meipso apud Southamp-
 ton, sexto die Augusti, anno regni nostri tertio. Subse-
 quente vicesimo die dicti mensis Augusti, annis Domini et
 Regis supradictis dictus Willielmus Alne, major et escaetor
 et hospitale sancti Leonardi in civitate Ebor. accessit et in
 præsentia domini Galfridi Lescrop, militis, necnon fratris
 Johannis Danyell Gardiani ejusdem hospitalis et aliorum
 fratrum, quandam longam cistam in infirmario ipsius hospi-
 talis stantem, vinculis ferreis undique fortissime ligatam,
 cum nonnullis cartis et scripturis terras et tenementa dicti
 domini Henrici Lescrop, in diversis Angliæ partibus, in
 ipsa cista repositis, arrestavit et ipsam cistam versus utrum-
 que suum super foramina seraturarum sigillo officii mayo-
 ratas dictæ civitatis in cera rubra sigillavit; quadam sera
 pendente in medio ipsius cistæ appensa, sigillata signeto
 Rogeri de Burton, clerici communis de mandato dicti ma-
 joris et escaetoris. Et contigit vicesimo tertio die dicti men-
 sis Augusti, annis Domini, et regis supradictis, quod quæ-
 dam navis carcata cum nonnullis bonis prætenfis dicti do-
 mini Henrici Lescrop, apud Seint Leonard Lendyngs, in
 aqua de Use arrestata fuit tanquam forisfactura domino
 regi

regi debita, et facta inquisitione diligenti, tandem compertum erat, per dictum Willielmum Alne, majorem, Thomam Santon, Johannem Moreton, et alios aldermanns civitatis predictæ, quod omnia et singula bona quæ fuerant in ipsa navis fuerint liberata Johannæ ducissæ Eboraci, relicte dicti domini Henrici Lescrop, per Johannem Waterton supradictum, per quandam indenturam inter eos inde confectam: cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba:

Ceste endente faite a Everwyk, le 23 d'August l'an du regne le Roye Henry quint, puy le conquest d'Angleterre tierce, pentre John de Waterton, esquier, et par nostre ireredoubte par le roy d'une parte, et Johanne, ducesse Deverwyk, d'autre parte, temoigne que le dit John ad livere au dicte doure Johanne par garder, les parcelles suys escriptz à la voluntée du roy, en primes quatre pottes d'argent aunciens chescun contenant dymy galon. Item une petit hanap d'or, round chasée a le manier d'un gobelet. Item sept hanaps d'argent aunciens, platt' ouisque deu covertes de mesme la suyt. Item 24 disces d'argent aunciens, només potageers de diverses formes. Item 12 salsar d'argent aunciens, de diverses formes. Item 3 basyns d'argent, aunciens, de diverses formes. Item 3 ewers d'argent, aunciens, des queux un saunz coverter. Item un entier lice, aunciens, de dymy worsted de rouge noir, et blaunks, ouisque 3 curtyns et 3 costiers de mesme la suyt. Item 2 quysshyns de sylk, aunciens. Item 6 quysshyns de dymy worsted, de diverses colors. Item 2 materas aunciens. Item 7 pair de fustians blanketts, 2 carpes, 2 pair de bucheux. Item une ymage de nostre dame d'or coronnée, ouisque perilleux. Item 2 petitiz hanaps d'argent, d'orrez, gravez, ouisque wrethes d'une suyte. Item une hanap d'argent, dorre, grave, ouisque une wrethe de trefoillez. Item une hanap d'argent ouisque lez armes de sire Lescrop. Item une hanap d'argent d'orre, chasé, en mannier d'une estoile. Item 2 petitiz ewers d'argent, d'orrez, l'une chasé et l'autre pounched. Item une payr basyns d'argent, d'orrez, pounched en la sountiz lez armes Lescrop. Item 6 chargeors d'argent, nouvelle, oue lez armes Lescrop. Item 12 esquellex d'argent, nouvelles, oue mesmes lez armes. Item 12 pottageours et 12 salsers d'argent, nouvelles de mesme la suyte, et armes. Item une hanap d'or, grave, en mannier de losenge en le pommel, un petit perell. Item 1 petit ewer d'or par mesme, la hanap pounched, oue une wrethe de divers foilez, oue une kesp

dances in the Evenings, along with continual feasting for three Weeks together.

Queen *Philippa* proved very prolifick, for she bore King *Edward* seven Sons and three Daughters almost in the Space of as many Years.

During this great Concourse at *York* the *Hainaulters*, still bearing Malice in their Hearts, set Fire to, and almost consumed, a whole Parish in the Suburbs of the City, by reason of a Difference raised betwixt the Inhabitants and them. The Cause was no mean one, for the Strangers had made bold to ravish several of the others Wives, Daughters, and Maid Servants. The *Suburbians*, provoked at such outrageous Proceedings, challenged the *Hainaulters* to fight them; and a select Company of each, well armed, one *Wednesday* before Sun-rising, *dormiente tota Civitate*, says our Authority*, met in a Street called *Watlingate*, and fought their Quarrel fairly out. In this Conflict were slain, and drowned in the River *Ouse*, of the *Hainaulters* 527, besides those who were mortally wounded and died soon after. Of the *English* fell likewise 242.

We look upon this Account to be true, notwithstanding that we have no other Testimony than the *Collectanea* to support it. The Contest in the preceding Year was still fresh in their Memories, and a new Provocation would easily stir up a Resentment. The Affair might be so hush'd up, out of Respect to the Queen's Countrymen, that few Historians of that Age could come to the Knowledge of it, and there is no Circumstance in the Relation which can make it be taken for the Tumult before mentioned. It is certain these Foreigners behaved very insolently to the *English* at both Times of their coming to *York*, which our ancient *British* Spirit could not bear, without endeavouring to retaliate the Affront. The former Contest shews a just Resentment of Injuries in the *English* in general; and the latter is an evident Proof, to our present Citizens, of the Spirit and Valour of their Ancestors.

King *Edward* summoned a Parliament to meet at *York*, Anno 1332, but the special Affairs that should have been done at it, were frustrated by the Squabbles which

VOL. I.

Q

happened

happened betwixt the two Archbishops about the bearing their Crosses in each other's Province *.

The King, in his March to *Scotland*, staid and kept his *Christmas* at *York*. From thence he proceeded on his Journey; and having pretty well adjusted Matters with King *Baliol*, he returned to this City to hold a Parliament which had been summoned to meet here on the Day before *St. Peter in Cathedra*, being *Feb. 21, 1334*†.

Joshua Barnes has collected all the Statutes and other Transactions done and agreed to at this Session of Parliament, which lasted from the Date above to *May 15*. But as we choose not to swell our Subject with what is unnecessary, we shall omit them.

It appears in *Cotton's Collections*, published by *Prynne*, that in the Reigns of *Edward II.* and *Edward III.* there were no less than twelve Parliaments held at *York* under these Years, 3. 8. 12. 12. 13. 15. *Ed. II.* and 1. 2. 6. 7. 9. 10. *Ed. III.*

At this Meeting of the King, Lords and Commons of *England*, *John Baliol*, King of *Scotland*, was to have done particular Homage to *Edward* for holding that Kingdom; but his Affairs were then at so low an Ebb, that he durst not trust himself for Fear of being seized by the *Scotch* Lords in his Journey: So he sent the Lords *Brammont* and *Montacute* to *York* to excuse him to *Edward*.

During the Wars in *France*, in which *Edward*, and his ever-renowned Son the *Black Prince*, won such signal Victories, *David Bruce*, *Baliol's* Competitor, undertook to invade *England*, which was then left to the sole Governance of the Queen. *David* made himself sure of Conquest, and resolved to destroy the Towns and Country with Fire and Sword till he came to *York*, where he only expected Opposition (four Towns excepted, *Hexham*, *Corbridge*, *Durham*, and *Darlington*, which he was advised to spare, and keep as Store-Houses for his Army's Subsistence). With this Resolution he entered *England* in 1347; and, meeting none to oppose him, dealt his Fire and Sword about unmercifully, and really penetrated so far, that some of his Army burnt Part of the Suburbs of *York*, but after retired to their main Body.

Philippa, our ever-famous Queen, was then in *York*; and, though a Woman, shewed in this Case such Cou-

rage

* *J. Barnes.*

† *Ast. Pub.*

age and Conduct, as was worthy the Wife and Mother of such a Husband and Son *. She got what Forces she could together at York, and from thence marched in Person with them against the Enemy. The Scots, not expecting such a Visit, were drawn to Battle at a Place called *Nevil's Cross*, near *Durham*, and after an obstinate Resistance were wholly routed, 15,000 of their Men being left dead upon the Spot, and their King himself taken Prisoner †. The Archbishop of York, *William de Zuech*, commanded the second Corps of the *English* Army, and behaved very gallantly in the Fight.

After the Battle the victorious Queen return'd to York with great Joy and Triumph, where King *David* was soon after delivered to her by *John Coplande* (who took him Prisoner) with much Ceremony ‡. The Queen staid in the City till she had seen it strongly fortified; and then, leaving the Lords *Percy* and *Nevill* to govern the North, she returned to *London*, carrying her Royal Prisoner along with her to present to her Husband.

Anno 1348 began a great Mortality in the City of York, which continued to spread with great Violence from *Ascension-Day* to the Feast of St. *James* the Apostle §.

The rest of *Edward* the Third's glorious Reign being chiefly employed in the Wars of *France*, is therefore foreign to our Purpose: We shall only say that *William of Hatfield*, the second Son of *Edward*, by his Queen *Philippa*, died young, and was buried in our Cathedral ||. And *Edmund Langley*, the fifth Son, was, in the Reign of his Successor, made the first Duke of York.

Richard II. began his Reign Anno 1377, in the Course of which were no Feats of War concerning us; but in Civil Affairs, by the King's especial Grace and Favour, divers Honours, Privileges, and Immunities were granted us.

Anno 1385 we find this King at York in an Expedition he made against the Scots, which was only memorable for the Death of Lord *Ralph Stafford*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Stafford*, who was slain in the Fields near *Bishopthorpe* by Sir *John Holland*, the King's Half-Brother **. The Occasion of the Quarrel, and the King's

Q 2

Resent-

* *Freisart.* † *Hollingshead, O.F. 17, 1347.* ‡ *Hollingshead.* § *Stabbs. A.F. Pont. Ebor.* || *Speed.* ** *Knigh-ton.*

Resentment, are Matters inserted at large in *Stowe* and *Hollinghead*, and therefore unnecessary here.

Anno 1389 came King *Richard* to *York*, says *Knights* in order to accommodate some Differences which had arisen betwixt the Archbishop, the Dean and Chapter and the Mayor and Commonalty of the City. The Affair was of great Consequence; but the King, by excellent Management, perfectly settled it *, and, as our Authority speaks, was so favourable to the Citizens as to grant them almost all they desired of him. It was at this Time (say our own Records) King *Richard* took his Sword from his Side, and gave it to be borne before *William de Selby*, as first Lord Mayor of *York*.

Anno 1390 a contagious Distemper began in the Northern Parts, and swept out of *York*, in a very small Time, 1100 Persons †; and in the next Year the same Kind of Pestilence, we suppose, broke out with greater Violence all over *England*, and, as our Authorities testify, there died, in the City of *York* only, 11,000 in a short Space.

The Courts of King's Bench and Chancery were removed from *London* to *York*, Anno 1392, at the Instigation of *Thomas Arundel*, then Archbishop of *York*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*. This was designed for the Benefit of the City, but they remained here only from *Midsummer* to *Christmas*, and then returned. In this Year King *Richard* presented the first Mace to the City to be borne before the Lord Mayor thereof. And,

Anno 1396, in the 19th Year of his Reign, he appointed two Sheriffs instead of three Bailiffs, and made it a County of itself; which, with several Privileges and large Immunities recited in the Charter granted by this King to the City and Citizens of *York*, prove that he paid an extraordinary Regard to it.

Nor were the Inhabitants unmindful of these Royal Concessions and great Benefactions, but took the first Opportunity to testify their Loyalty and Gratitude to *Richard*, even after his Deposition and Murder. This, though it cost them dear, deserves a perpetual Memorial, because the Efforts they made proceeded purely from the Principles above.

* *Causa igitur hujusmodi cum luculento consilio ad plenum regulis discussa, reddidit rex civibus, quasi in omnibus, votum suum. Knights.*

† *Stowe. Hollinghead.*

The Subject of the Deposition of this Prince, and his most execrable Murder, is a Theme so melancholy, that our City, to their great Honour, had nothing to do with it.

Anno 1399, Henry IV. having, by the Assistance of his Friends, the Malecontents of England, deposed his lawful Sovereign, mounted his Throne, and imprisoned him in Pontefract Castle, where he was soon after most inhumanly put to Death.

Anno 1405, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was chief Instrument of King Henry's Exaltation; but not long after having lost his Brother and Son, slain at the Battle of *Sbrewsbury**, he confederated with the Archbishop of York, *Richard Scroop*, whose Brother the King had beheaded, and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl Marshal, whose Father died an Exile in *Venice*, all mortal Enemies to Henry, and concerted his Ruin. The Lords *Fauconberg*, *Bardolf*, *Hastings*, and many others joined them in this Conspiracy. They had agreed to meet at York, at a Time appointed, where the Earl of Northumberland was to take the supreme Command of their united Forces: But the Archbishop's Impatience frustrated the Design; for being retired from Court to his See, together with the Earl Marshal, he thought to facilitate the Enterprize by giving the Cause a Sanction of religious Justice. And having framed several Articles against the King, and sent Copies of them into other Counties, he caused them to be fixed upon the Church-Doors of his own City and Diocese. This was to invite the People to take Arms, in order to reform Abuses introduced by the ill Management of the present Government. The Archbishop was of an amiable Countenance, of great Learning and Virtue, and having till this present led a blameless Life, he was far from being suspected of any evil Intentions; so that when he was pleased to declare his Mind to the People in a Sermon which he preached to them in his Cathedral, full 20,000 Men suddenly rose and came to his Standard at York, which Standard was painted with the five Wounds of our Saviour. †

This Diligence was unseasonable both for the Archbishop and his Confederates ‡; for Henry, by this Means, having early Notice of their Intentions, had levied thirty

Q 3

thousand

* Biendi. † T. Walsingham. ‡ Hollingshead.

thousand fighting Men, and sent them, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Westmoreland** and his own Son *John*†, against these Northern Malecontents. At their coming to *York* the Earl found the Archbishop so advantageously encamped on the Forest of *Galtrys*, just without the City, that he did not think fit to attack him, though much inferior in Forces, but encamped his Army right over against the other. And now the Earl changing the Lion's Skin for the Fox's, and following the French Adage, *à défaut de la force il faut employer le ruse*, sent the Archbishop Word, *That he wondered a Man of his Profession should be found in such a Posture, since he could not shew any Reason why he should arm the King's People contrary to the King's Peace.* To which the Archbishop mildly answered, *That he was so far from infringing the King's Peace, that all which he did tended to the Preservation of it.* Upon this, entering into the Merits of the Cause on either Side, a Treaty was begun, and the Articles of Grievances shewn; which, for the Earl's better Satisfaction, the Archbishop thought fit to send him by a Gentleman of his own. The Earl, though he was determined what to do in the Case, seemed to rest satisfied with the Justness of them; but said, *That a Business of this high Nature being in Question, it was requisite they should meet together and treat thereof, which might easily be done, each of them bringing a like Number of Men betwixt the two Camps*‡. There is no Net, says the polite *Italian*§, so secure as that which is spread in Commendation of him who is to be deceived. For the good Archbishop, measuring other Men's Consciences by his own, hearing his Actions applauded by one he thought his Enemy, was confident he could bring the Earl over to his Interest, and therefore made no Difficulty to give him the Meeting; and, which is more, brought the Earl Marshal, reluctant enough, along with him.

* *Ralph Nevill* Earl of *Westmoreland*.

† *John* Earl of *Lancaster*, afterwards Duke of *Bedford*.

‡ This whole Controversy is elegantly described in *Shakespeare's* Historical Play of *Henry IV.*

§ *Sir Francis Biendi*, Knight, an *Italian*, and Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles I.* wrote an elegant History, as *Bishop Nicholson* justly calls it, in his own Language, of the Civil Wars betwixt the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, translated into *English* by *Henry Earl of Monmouth*.

At this Meeting, with equal Numbers betwixt the two Camps, *Westmoreland*, after some short Discourse, seemed perfectly satisfied, and professed, *That in so just a Cause, he himself would fight to the last of his Life.* The Generals then shook Hands in Sight of both Armies; Wine was called for, and drank about in Token of Friendship and mutual Love. And now the Earl said to the Archbishop, *That their Differences being ended in a joint Consent, it was not expedient to detain any longer so many People, with so much Inconvenience to themselves, from their Houses and Shops; but that being suddenly disbanded, it was but Reason they should together with them enjoy the Fruits of the established Reconciliation.* The Archbishop believed the Earl, and his People him, who immediately broke up their Camp and returned to the City, joyful enough no doubt to avoid a Battle, and go back to their Shops, from which they were most of them taken. The Bowls of Wine in the mean Time went briskly round; whilst the Earl's Party, scattered at first, imperceptibly gathering one by one together, grew to such a Multitude, that he arrested the Archbishop for High Treason upon the Spot, as also the Earl Marshal; notwithstanding this he plighted his Faith to them that they should not suffer in their Lives: But meeting the King at *Pontefract* as he was hastening to *York*, he brought back with him the Prisoners, who, says *Biondi*, much commiserated and bemoaned, were adjudged to die, and were forthwith beheaded.

There fell along with the Archbishop and Earl Marshal Sir *John Lamplugh*, Sir *Robert Plumpton*, with several others. The Earl's Body was, by the King's Permission, says *Walsingham*, suffered to be buried in the Cathedral; but his Head, fixed upon a Stake, stood on the City Bridge till the King, by his Writ dated the 6th of *August*, in the sixth Year of his Reign, commanded it to be removed.

And now *Henry* took ample Vengeance on the Citizens of *York* for siding with their Archbishop; for we find in the Public Acts the following Mandate directed to two of his Captains, as we suppose them to be.

*The King to his chosen and faithful Servants John Stanley
and Roger Leeche, Greeting : **

KNOW ye that for certain special Causes, intimately concerning us and the State of our Kingdom of *England*, we do assign you, together or separately, our City of *York*, together with all and singular Liberties, Franchises, and Privileges to the Citizens of the said City, by our Progenitors or Predecessors sometime Kings of *England*, or ourself, before this Time granted and confirmed, to take and seize into our Hands; and the said City thus taken and seized, till further Orders from us, in our Name to keep and govern.

And therefore we command you, or either of you, diligently to take Heed to the Premises, and that you should do and execute them in the Manner aforesaid.

Also we command all and singular High Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and their Officers, and all other our faithful Subjects, as well within Liberties as without, by the Tenor of these Presents, strictly to aid and assist you, or either of you, in the Execution of the Premises, being helpful, advising, and obedient to you as they ought.

In Testimony of which, &c.

*Witness the King at his Castle of Pontefract the third
Day of June, 1405, in the sixth Year of his Reign.*

By the KING.

This severe Mandate from *Henry* fell like a Clap of Thunder on our City, and was sent before him as a Taste of what they were to expect at his Arrival †. What followed were Trials, Executions, Pains, Penalties, and grievous Fines, which he imposed and exacted with great Rigour on all the Citizens who had followed the Archbishop ‡. After which he marched Northward against the Earl of *Northumberland*, who hearing of the Fate of his Confederates, had retired to his Government of *Berwick* : But *Henry* not thinking it politic to leave so many vexed Spirits behind him, who might expect worse Treatment at his Return, by the Advice of his Council sent back a general Pardon, dated from *Ripon* ||, and directed to the High Sheriffs of several Counties for all the Archbishop's Adherents, amongst those our City

received

* Act. Pub. tom. vii. † *Hollinghead*. ‡ *Biondi*. || Act. Pub.

received the same Favour; which, though thinned in its Inhabitants and stripped of its Treasure, yet was now reinstated in its former Privileges.

In 1408 King *Henry* made *York* another Visit on much the same Errand as before; for we are told that after the Discomfiture of the Earl of *Northumberland's* Forces, by Sir *Thomas Rokesby*, High Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, on *Bramham-Moor*, where the old Earl was slain*, the King came to *York*, where what he had left undone before was now compleated in the Executions and Confiscations of several Citizens, though we do not find they had aided the Earl in his Enterprize. Amongst those that suffered Death was the Abbot of *Hales*, who, being taken in Armour at the Battle, was here executed. The Earl of *Northumberland*, the chief Instrument in deposing *Richard* and raising up this *Henry*, after having the Misfortune to live to see most of his Family cut off before him, was himself slain at this Battle†. His Head, covered with Silver Hairs, being put upon a Stake, was carried, in a Kind of mock Procession, thro' all the Towns to *London*, and then placed on the Bridge, where, says *Hollinghead*, it long stood as a Monument of Divine Justice.

Our Chronicles mention nothing more relating to our City in *Henry* the Fourth's Reign, except taking Notice that in the second Year of it, at his Return out of *Scotland*, he came to *York* and saw a Duel, or martial Combat by Challenge, fought there betwixt two foreign and two *English* Knights, in which the latter prevailed. One of the *English*, Sir *John Cornwall*, so pleased the King by his Valour shewn in the Combat, that he gave him his Sister, the Widow of *John* Earl of *Holland* and *Huntingdon*, to Wife‡.

In 1412 *Henry* V. began his short, but glorious Reign, which may also be called a politic one; for by amusing his People in carrying on a prosperous War in *France*, he kept them from prying into his Title at home. Our Chronicles produce very little to our Purpose during his Time; but our City's old Registers give a Mandate from this King to the Lord Mayor of *York*, to seize and confiscate the Estate and Effects of *Thomas* Lord *Scrope* of *Masbam*, beheaded for High Treason at *South-*

* *Stowe.* † *Dug. Bar.* ‡ *Speed.*

Southampton in the first Year of his Reign. His Head came along with the Mandate, by which it was ordered to be placed on the Top of *Mickle-gate-Bar*. This Lord *Scrope* was Lord Treasurer of *England*, and had married *Joan* Duchess Dowager of *York*.

The Proceedings in this Matter, taken from the City Registers, are in the following Words:

D*IE Mercurii, viz. Ultima die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimo quinto, et regni regis Henrici quinti, post conquestum Angliæ anno tertio. Dominus Richardus de York, comes Cantabrigiæ, frater honorabilis ducis domini Edwardi ducis Ebor. necnon dominus Henricus dominus Lescrop de Masham, quem dictus dominus rex plus aliis diligebat, et cui contra quam plures sibi emus gratitudinis maxima insignia exhibebat, et dominus Thomas Gray de Heton arrestati fuerunt apud castrum de Porchester juxta Southampton, pro quibusdam prodicionibus contra ligeantiam suam in destructionem persone dicti domini nostri regis nequiter præexcogitatis, et per ipsos sponte voluntarie et sine vi publice confessatis, et post modum die Lunæ, viz. Quinto die mensis Augusti annis domini et regis prædictis, iidem domini Richardus, Henricus, et Thomas apud Southampton, causante prodicione eorum fuerunt adjudicati morti et postea decollati, et caput dicti domini Henrici Lescrop positum super portam de Mickellyth, Ebor. post cujus mortem, Willielmus Alne tunc major et escaetor infra civitatem et suburbia ac precinctum civitatis Ebor. quam plura bona ejusdem domini Lescrop in thesaurario ecclesiæ cathedralis Ebor. existentia, ad usum domini nostri regis prædicti confiscari nitebatur et illuc veniens ibidem invenit Johannem Waterton, armigerum, et Petrum de la Hay, escaetores domini regis in comitatu Ebor. de bonis prædictis se intromittentes, et hoc comperto, dictus Willielmus Alne, major et escaetor prædictus in presentia nonnullorum civium dictæ civitatis eis inbibuit, ne quidquam attemptare præsumerent. Quod libertatem ejusdem civitatis cum ex concessione nonnullorum regum et confirmationum præfati domini nostri regis Angliæ officium escaetoris in quibuscunque locis dictæ civitatis suburbiiisque et procinctu ejusdem, utilibet ad majorem dictæ civitatis qui pro tempore fuerit, pertinuit et debet pertinere. Et memoratus Johannes Waterton, asse-*

erit quod non erat intentionis suæ libertatibus ipsius civi-
 tatis præjudicare in aliquo: imo hoc quod in hoc casu facere
 videbatur id fecit virtute quarundam literarum domini
 nostri regis sibi specialiter directarum quas ostendit ibidem
 et earum tenor sequitur et est talis: Henricus, Dei gratia,
 Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, et dominus Hiberniæ, dilecto sibi
 Johanni Waterton, armigero, salutem. Sciatis quod qui-
 busdam certis de causis nos ad præsens specialiter moventibus
 assignavimus vos ad omnia et singula bona et cattalla quæ
 fuerunt Henrici Lescrop, qui erga nos et ligeantiam nos-
 tram forisfecit, et quæ occasione illa nobis pertinent et perti-
 nere debent, ubicunque fuerint inventa, sine dilatione arre-
 standum, et ea sub hujusmodi arresto quousque aliud in da-
 taximus demandandum salve et secure custodiendum seu
 custodiri faciendum. Et ideo vobis præcipimus quod circa
 præmissa diligenter intendatis et ea faciatis et exequamini
 in forma prædicta. Damus autem universis et singulis
 viris majoribus, ballivis, constabulariis, ministris, ac aliis
 fidelibus et subditis nostris tam infra libertates quam extra
 tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis quod vobis in exe-
 cutione præmissorum intendentes sint, consulentes et auxili-
 antes, prout decet. In cujus rei testimonium has literas
 nostras fieri fecimus patentes teste meipso apud Southamp-
 ton, sexto die Augusti, anno regni nostri tertio. Subse-
 quente vicesimo die dicti mensis Augusti, annis Domini et
 Regis supradictis dictus Willielmus Alne, major et escaetor
 ad hospitale sancti Leonardi in civitate Ebor. accessit et in
 præsentia domini Galfridi Lescrop, militis, necnon fratris
 Johannis Danyell Gardiani ejusdem hospitalis et aliorum
 fratrum, quandam longam cistam in infirmario ipsius hospi-
 talis stantem, vinculis ferreis undique fortissime ligatam,
 cum nonnullis cartis et scripturis terras et tènements dicti
 domini Henrici Lescrop, in diversis Angliæ partibus, in
 ipsa cista repositis, arrestavit et ipsam cistam versus utrum-
 que finem super foramina seraturarum sigillo officii majo-
 ratus dictæ civitatis in cera rubra sigillavit; quadam sera
 pendente in medio ipsius cistæ appensa, sigillata signeto
 Rogeri de Burton, clerici communis de mandato dicti ma-
 joris et escaetoris. Et contigit vicesimo tertio die dicti men-
 sis Augusti, annis Domini, et regis supradictis, quod quæ-
 dam navis carcata cum nonnullis bonis prætensis dicti do-
 mini Henrici Lescrop, apud Seint Leonard Lendyns, in
 riva de Use arrestata fuit tanquam forisfactura domino
 regi

regi debita, et facta inquisitione diligenti, tandem compertum erat, per dictum Willielmum Alne, majorem, Thomam Santon, Johannem Moreton, et alios aldermannes civitatis prædictæ, quod omnia et singula bona quæ fuerant in ipsa navi fuerint liberata Johanne ducissæ Eboraci, relicta dicti domini Henrici Lescrop, per Johannem Waterton supradictum, per quandam indenturam inter eos inde confectam: cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba:

Ceste endente faite a Everwyk, le 23 d'August l'an du regne le Roye Henry quint, puy le conquest d'Angleterre tierce, pentre John de Waterton, esquier, et par nostre trerredoubte par le roy d'une parte, et Johanne, ducyff Deverwyk, d'autre parte, temoigne que le dit John ad livere au dicte doure Johanne par garder, les parcelles suy escriptz à la voluntée du roy, en primes quatre pottes d'argent aunciens chescun contenant dymy galon. Item une petit banap d'or, round chasée a le manier d'un gobelt. Item sept banaps d'argent aunciens, plati' ouisque deu covertes de mesme la suy. Item 24 disces d'argent aunciens, només potageers de diverses formes. Item 12 falsar d'argent aunciens, de diverses formes. Item 3 basyns d'argent, aunciens, de diverses formes. Item 3 ewers d'argent, aunciens, des queux un saunz coverter. Item un entier lix, aunciens, de dymy worsted de rouge noir, et blaunks, ouisque 3 curtyns et 3 costiers de mesme la suy. Item 2 quysbyns de sylk, aunciens. Item 6 quysbyns de dymy worsted, de diverses colors. Item 2 materas aunciens. Item 7 pair de fustians blanketts, 2 carpes, 2 pair de bucheux. Item une ymage de nostre dame d'or coronnée, ouisque perillez. Item 2 petitx banaps d'argent, d'orrez, gravez, ouisque wrethbes d'une suyte. Item une banap d'argent, dorre, grave, ouisque une wrethe de trefoillez. Item une banap d'argent ouisque lez armes de sire Lescrop. Item une banap d'argent d'orre, chasée, en mannier d'une estoile. Item 2 petitx ewers d'argent, d'orrez, l'une chasée et l'autre pounched. Item une payr basyns d'argent, d'orrez, pounched en la fountz lez armes Lescrop. Item 6 chargeors d'argent, nouvelle, oue lez armes Lescrop. Item 12 esquellex d'argent, nouvelles, oue mesmes lez armes. Item 12 pottagecurs et 12 falsers d'argent, nouvelles de mesme la suyte, et armes. Item une banap d'or, grave, en mannier de losenge en le pomell, un petit perell. Item 1 petit ewer d'or par mesme, la banap pounched, oue une wreth de divers foilez, oue une knop

perell. En tesmoignance de quele chose, lez partiez su-
 erdictes au cestes endenteurs ont mys lors sealz, donne a Euer-
 ick le an et jour suisdites. Et subsequeute decimo die Octo-
 ris anno prædicto, dictus Williemus Alne, major, de vo-
 luntate et præcepto domini Johannis ducis Bedford, custodis
 Angliæ sigillum officii sui supra foramina dictæ cistæ, ut
 præfertur, positum et dictam seram pendentem amovit et
 abtulit in præsentia magistrorum Roberti Fitz-Hugh, ma-
 gistri dicti hospitalis, Willielmi Cawood, canonici Ebor.
 domini Galfridi Lescrop, cler', Johannis Neusom, armi-
 geri, Richardi Beverlay, jurisperiti, Rogeri Burton, præ-
 dicti notarii publici, et aliorum.

The Earl of Cambridge, who had married the Heiress
 of the House of York, with Sir Thomas Grey, was be-
 headed at the same Time with Lord Scrope: And this,
 says Rapin, was the first Spark of that Fire which almost
 consumed, in Process of Time, the two Houses of Lan-
 caster and York. Most of our Historians are so busy in
 attending this Monarch in his French Wars, that a Pro-
 gress he made to York has escaped their Notice.

Walsingham writes, that, Anno 1421, 9 Henry V. after
 the Coronation of Catharine of France at Westminster, the
 King and Queen made a Progress through the Kingdom
 to York; and from thence they went to visit the Shrine
 of St. John of Beverley. It was at York that the News
 came to him of the Death of the Duke of Clarence, his
 Brother, slain in France. There had been a strong Re-
 port that the Tomb of St. John of Beverley sweat Blood
 all the Day that the famous Battle of Agincourt was
 fought; and it being imputed to the Merits of that Saint
 that this great Victory was gained, Henry, a zealous Ca-
 tholick Prince, thought it his Duty to make a Pilgrimage
 to the Shrine. And this is all that we can learn of this
 great Monarch's Transactions at York, or in these Parts.

Henry VI. the very reverse of his Father, was fitter
 for a monastick than a regal Life. His weak and un-
 steady Hand, made feebler by the Murder of his Uncle,
 Humphry Duke of Gloucester, was by no Means fit to
 guide the Helm of Government in so turbulent a Sea-
 son. The House of York laid hold of this Opportunity
 to assert their Title to the Throne, and, after wading
 through a Sea of Blood, at length obtained it. It is not

our Purpose to describe these melancholy Times at large, those that choose may read them elegantly treated of by Sir *Francis Biondi*, an *Italian* Writer, who must shew the least Partiality to either House, and therefore what relates to our Subject is chiefly copied from that Author.

After the Battle of *Wakefield*, *An.* 1460, where *Richard* Duke of *York* met his Fate, his Head, which had boldly aspired to a Golden Diadem, was crowned with Paper in Derision, put on a long Pole, and placed on the Top of *Micklegate-Bar*, with his Face to the City, as *Shakespeare* makes the haughty Queen *Margaret*, opprobriously, speak that

York may overlook the Town of York.

With the Duke's Head were likewise placed those of *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *Richard* *Limbrick*, Sir *Ralph* *Stanley*, *John* *Harrow*, Capt. *Hanson*, &c. all taken Prisoners at the aforesaid Battle, and beheaded at *Pontefract* *.

But this Success of the *Red-Rose* Party did not last long; for *Edward* Earl of *March*, upon the Death of his Father, waived the Title of Duke of *York*, and got himself almost every where proclaimed King of *England*; after which came on the most remarkable bloody Battle ever fought perhaps in the whole World. It was truly the *Pharsalia* of this Nation, and deserves a Pen equal to *Lucan's* to describe it.

Edward, after the Death of his Father, being received for King, and as such proclaimed, immediately left *London* †. He easily gathered together a great Army, for being a Prince, says *Hollingshead*, highly favoured of the People for Liberality, Clemency, upright Dealing, and extraordinary Courage, each Man made an Offer to him of all he had, so that his Forces were very soon 49,000 strong, with which he encamped at *Pontefract*, himself residing in the Castle, and his Army round him. It was then thought proper to send Lord *Fitzwater*, with a Detachment, to guard the Pass at *Ferrybridge*, to prevent any sudden Surprize from the Enemy.

Henry, his Queen, and their Army, lay in and about *York*, to the Number, as most account, of 60,000 fighting Men. The Command of this Army was given to the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord

Clifford,

* *Hollingshead.*

† *Biondi.*

Clifford, all mortal Enemies to the House of *York*, and whose Fathers had all perished in this unhappy Quarrel at the Battle of *St. Alban's*. These Generals set forward from *York* with their Forces, leaving *Henry*, his Queen, and Son in the City, as in a Place of the greatest Security to their Persons. Understanding that *Edward* had gained and guarded the Pass at *Ferrybridge*, they made a Halt, and sent Lord *Clifford* with a Body of Light Horse to dislodge them. *Clifford* made such Haste, that, setting upon the Bridge by Break of Day, he easily won it, the Guards being all asleep, and not dreaming of an Enemy so near them. Lord *Fitz-Water* awaked by the Noise, supposing it to arise from some Tumult among his own Men, jumped out of Bed, and unarmed, with only a Battle-Ax in his Hand, went to appease them; but, too late aware of his Mistake, he was there slain, together with the Bastard of *Salisbury*, Brother to the famous Earl of *Warwick*. This young Gentleman's Death, Anno 1461, as well as the unhappy Success of his first Encounter, so much grieved the Earl, that after riding full Speed to *Edward* to inform him of this Event, he alighted off Horseback, and thrust his Sword into the Horse's Belly, saying at the same Time, *Fly who will fly, I will not fly; here will I stay with as many as will keep me Company*; and kissing the Cross on the Hilt of his Sword, by Way of Vow, put it up again.

Edward, who did very much resent this Misfortune, not that it was of so great Consequence in itself, but that, it being the first Encounter, an ill Omen might be drawn from it, made Proclamation that it should be lawful for any Man to depart that had not a Mind to fight, and promised large Recompences to those that would tarry, but Death to those who staid and after-ward, with Reward and double Pay to those that should kill them. No Man accepted so ignominious a Leave, but all chose rather to die than declare themselves such base Cowards. Lord *Clifford's* Success was in the mean Time of no long Continuance; for Lord *Fauconberg* had passed the River *Aire* at *Castleford*, three Miles above *Ferrybridge*, accompanied by Sir *Walter Blount* and *Robert Horn*, with an Intention to surprize him; whereof *Clifford* being apprized, he drew off his Men, and retired in great Haste to the main Body. In this Retreat

he fell in unawares with a Party, and having his Helmet off, either for Heat or Pain, was shot into the Throat with an Arrow, as some say, without a Head and instantly fell down dead. A Fate too good for such a Monster, who, in cool Blood, had some Time before murdered an innocent Child of ten Years of Age, the Earl of Rutland, Edward's youngest Brother, whose moving Intercession for Mercy from him might have extorted Compassion from the roughest Barbarian.

When this Conflict was over, Edward's whole Army marched to meet the Enemy, and in the Fields (called by some YORK-FIELDS) betwixt *Forwton* and *Saxton*, two Miles South-West of *Tadcaster*, found them drawn up ready to receive them. The Number of Forces on the *Yorkists* Side was then 40,660 Men; the other exceeded, being full 60,000. The Right Wing of Edward's Army was commanded by the Earl of *Warwick*; the Left by Lord *Fauconberg*, in the Absence of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was sick; the main Body was led by Edward himself; and the Rear-Guard committed to the Care of Sir *John Venloe* and Sir *John Denham*, two valiant Commanders. The *Lancastrian* Generals were already mentioned. Before the Battle began, Edward commanded that this dreadful Proclamation should be made betwixt the two Armies, viz. That no Prisoners should be taken, but all indifferently put to the Sword which was answered by the like Proclamation from the other Side. Edward did not do this out of Cruelty, for Historians, but that his Army, being much inferior in Number, might not be incumber'd with Prisoners.

On the 29th of *March*, being *Palm-Sunday*, early in the Morning, the Fight began, first with a Flight of Arrows from *Henry's* Men, which, by reason of a Shower of Snow which blew with the Wind full in their Faces when they shot, were of no Execution, but all dropped short of their Mark. When *Fauconberg* perceived this he ordered his Men to shoot one Flight, then to retire back three Paces, and stand; which they did, till the *Lancastrians* had emptied their Quivers in vain. The *Yorkists* then advanced upon them, and not only sent their own Arrows, which, aided by the Wind, came full against them, but also picked up the short Arrows of the Enemy in their March, and returned them to their

Masters

masters. All Historians agree that this Conduct of *Fau-*
mountain's was a great Help to the Victory. The Earl of
Warwick and Sir *Andrew Trollop*, who led the Van-
 guard, seeing this Disadvantage, pushed their Men as
 as possible to Handy-Blows; and now began a Battle
 indeed! each Man stood his Ground till slain or disabled,
 and then another took his Place. The Proclamation for
 giving Quarter seemed quite needless, the extreme
 hatred betwixt the two Parties calling for nothing but
 Blood and Death. Ten Hours this direful Conflict last-
 ed in Suspence, and Victory fluctuated from Side to
 Side, till at length it settled in the House of *York*, in a
 great Measure owing to their King and Leader. *Ed-*
ward was an Eye-Witness of his Soldiers' Valour, and
 of his Captain-like Courage; a Sight which rather
 made them choose to die than not to imitate him. In
 short, the *Lancastrians* gave Way and fled towards *York*;
 not seeking in a tumultuary Manner to gain the Bridge
 of *Tadcaster*, so many of them fell into the Rivulet *Cock-*
burn quite filled it up, and the *Yorkists* went over their
 backs to pursue their Brethren. This Rivulet and the
 River *Wharfe*, into which it empties itself a little below,
 were dyed with Blood; which is no Wonder, if the
 Number which Historians give of the Slain is to be cre-
 dited. Thirty-six thousand seven hundred and seventy-
 six *Englishmen* here fell a Sacrifice for their Fathers'
 Transgressions; and the Wounds of which they died,
 being made by Arrows, Battle-Axes, or Swords, would
 bleed plentifully*. The Blood of the Slain, says an
 Historian, laid caked with the Snow, which at that Time
 covered the Face of the Ground, and afterwards, dissol-
 ving with it, ran in a most horrible Manner down the
 furrows and Ditches of the Fields for two or three Miles
 together†. Not one Man was taken Prisoner except
 the Earl of *Devonshire*, and he seemed to be saved be-
 cause they were weary with killing. The Dukes of
Gloucester and *Exeter* fled the Field, and brought the fatal
 News to *Henry* and his Queen at *York*, whom they per-
 suaded

R. 3

* Sir J. Habb. Edw. IV.

† Occisorum nempe cruor cum nive jam commixtus, qui totam tunc
 temporis operiebat terræ superficiem, postmodum usque duo vel tria mili-
 lia cum nive resoluta per sulcos et lacunas horribiliter decurrit.
 Hist. croy. cont. Fire-Arms were in Use before this Battle, but
 we do not find that any were made Use of at it.

suaded to fly with them into *Scotland*; nor was their Haste in vain, for victorious *Edward* was close at their Heels, and they had scarce left the City before he entered it in Hopes to surprize them.

Missing of his principal Aim, the first Thing *Edward* did was to take down his Father's Head along with the others that had been placed on the Bar, and had them buried with their Bodies; and then caused *Thomas Courtney*, Earl of *Devon*, the Earl of *Kyme*, *Sir William Hill*, and *Sir Thomas Foulford* to be beheaded, and set their Heads in the same Place *.

Anno 1464 King *Edward* came to *York*, accompanied by his Brethren and most of the Nobility of the Realm bringing along with him a mighty Army against the *Scotch*, *French*, and *Northumbrians*, who had taken Arms in *Henry's* Favour. At *Hexham* the Armies met, and a sore Battle was fought betwixt them, but the Victory fell to *Edward*. *Henry*, says *Hollingshead*, shewed himself here an excellent Horseman, for he rode so fast that none could overtake him; his Equipage, however, and several of his Servants, fell into the Enemy's Hands. In the former was found the Royal Cap, called *Abacet* †, being garnished with two rich Crowns, with which *Edward* was again crown'd, *May 4*, with great Solemnity at *York*. Lord *George* and *Sir Humphry Nevil* now lost their Heads in this City; and 25 more Persons, all taken Prisoners at the last Battle, were here executed.

It is an easy Matter to guess what Part our City took during all these intestine Troubles, and whose Cause the Citizens favoured most, when we mention a Record of an extraordinary Grant from this King to them, which is in the Tower of *London*. The Patent is dated at *York*, *June 10*, *Anno Reg. 4*, 1464, and expresses the King's great Concern for the Sufferings and Hardships the City had undergone during these Wars, insomuch as to be almost reduced to the lowest Degree of Poverty by them. In Consideration of which he not only relinquishes the usual Farm of the City, but assigns them an annual Rent of 40 *l.* to be paid them out of his Customs in

* *Hollingshead*.

† *Spelman* cites only the Chronicle of this Year for this Word, which he says signifies a Royal Cap ensigned with two Crowns, which doubtless were those of *England* and *France*.

in the Port of Hull, for twelve Years to come. It is in these Words * :

Pro Majore et Civibus Civitatis Ebor. Rex. Ed. IV.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos nedom decasuram et ruinam civitatis nost. Ebor. ac grandia expensa deperdita et onera que dilecti nobis cives ejusdem civitat. occasione guerrarum litium et discensionum in partibus borealibus hic nuper sustinuerunt quo pretextu ipsi in extremam paupertatis abissum penitus sunt ejeti, verum etiam excessivam feodi firmam quam iidem cives pro civitate predict. ac si esset in statu pristine felicitatis sue, nobis annuatim reddere tenentur, considerantes de gratia nost. speciali ac in ipsor. civium paupertatis et indigentie relevamen nec non dictor. gravium onerum suorum supportationem dedimus et concessimus, ac per presentes damus et concedimus dilectis nobis majori et civibus civitatis nost. predict. quadraginta libras percipiend. annuatim eisdem majori et civibus durante termino duodecim annor. de subsidio trium solidor. de dolio et duodecim denariorum de libra in portu de villa nost. de Kingeston super Hull pervenient. et crescent. per manus custumariorum sive collectorum ejusdem subsidii pro temp. existent. ad festa S. Michael. et Pasche per equales portiones, aliquo statuto actu ordinatione permissione seu restrictione in contrarium fact. et ordinat. seu provis. aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante.

In cujus, &c.

Teste Rege apud Ebor. x. die Junii.

Per ipsum regem et de data predict. &c.

Et mandatum est custumariis sive collectoribus subsidii trium solid. de dolio et duodecim denarior. de libra in portu ville nost. de Kingeston super Hull, qui nunc sunt et qui pro tempore erunt quod eisdem majori et civibus dilectis quadraginta libras durante termino predict. ad festa predicta de subsidio predict. in portu predict. pervenient. de tempore in tempus solvant juxta tenorem litt. nost. preact. recipientes a prefatis majore et civibus litteras suas acquietentie que pro nobis sufficientes fuerint in hac parte †.

Teste ut supra.

For

* Several Orders, Grants, &c. are in the *Fœdera*, dated at York; which proves that the King staid near a Month here after the Battle to settle Affairs.

† 1464. Pat. 4. Ed. IV. p. 3. m. 9.

For some Years after this did *Edward*, with little Disturbance, keep Possession of the Crown; but at length the Scales turned, and he who had driven *Henry* into Exile was obliged to share the same Fortune himself, and seek Protection in a foreign Country. This was wholly owing to the Desertion of the famous Earl of *Warwick* from him and his Family's Interest. The Earl being disgraced in an Embassy to *France* by *Edward*, who had privately married a Lady in *England* whilst *Warwick* was publicly treating of a Marriage for him with the *French* King's Sister in *France*, took it so heinously that he not only went over to *Henry's* Cause himself, but likewise persuaded his two Brothers, the Marquis of *Montacute* and Lord *George*, the one Lord President, the other Archbishop of *York*, to take the same Course. The Springs and Motives of this next Revolution, being set on Foot in our City, require a particular Disquisition.

The Earl's two Brothers had a Consultation with him at *Calais*, of which Town he was Governor; and there it was agreed that they two should stir up some Commotion in the North, whilst he should land in the South. They took this Method to put their Design in Execution: There was in our City an Hospital dedicated to St. *Leonard*, where, says our Author *, by an ancient Institution, the Poor were fed, and the Diseased healed. The Intention was so laudable, that there was no Owner of Ground in all that County that did not contribute, at the Time of Harvest, somewhat to the Maintenance of it. This Contribution at first was voluntary; but after, by Use, became a Custom, and even enforced by Parliament †, and they had proper Officers to collect it for the Service of the Hospital. The two malecontent Lords caused a Report to be spread in the Country, that the Hospital, having sufficient Revenues of its own, had no Need of this Contribution of Corn, which only went to enrich the Provosts and Priests, and was of no Benefit to the Poor. It was no hard Matter to bring the People to believe this, especially since it was their Interest; and the News quickly spreading from one Mouth to another, the Collectors were not only denied their usual Allotments, but insulted and wounded in the Execution of their

* *Biondi.* *Hall's Chron.* † 2 *Hen.* VI. c. 2.

their Offices. The Populace being enraged that they should so long bear this Exaction, as they now thought it, resolved to revenge themselves upon the Hospital, and even the City itself. About 15,000 of them assembled and marched towards *York*; the Inhabitants of the City were in great Consternation at the News, not knowing whether they should keep within the Walls, or sally forth to give them Battle before their Numbers increased. The Marquis eased them of this Fear; for making a small Draught of some choice Men, he fell upon them unexpectedly in the Night, even under the City Walls, overthrew them, killed and took Prisoners great Numbers, amongst whom was their Leader *Robert Holdern*, whose Head he caused to be struck off before one of the City Gates. This was a Piece of Policy in the Marquis, which, like all the rest of his future Conduct, was unaccountable. To have joined these Men, thus raised, seemed the fairest Way to execute their Designs against *Edward*; and there can be no Reason given for his destroying of them, but that by this Action he might gain more Confidence with the King, in order to work his Downfall the surer.

However, by this the Rebels were only quelled, not quashed; for upon the Death of their Leader, the eldest Sons of the Lord *Fitzburgh*, and *Nevil Lord Latimer*, both of them young Men, to give the better Grace to their Enterprize, were chosen to command them: These two young Gentlemen were nigh Relations to the Earl of *Warwick*, the one his Nephew, and the other Cousin German; but yet in this Affair they were subordinate to the Direction of an elder Commander, Sir *John Conniere*, whom our Author styles one of the valiantest Men in those Parts. Thus headed, the Rebels would have gone again to *York*, but wanting Artillery to batter the Walls, they boldly faced Southward; and the Wheel thus put in Motion never stopped till *Edward* was cast from the Top to the Bottom of it. Taken Prisoner by the Earl of *Warwick*, he was committed to the Care and Custody of the Archbishop of *York*, who placed him in the Castle of *Middleham*, where being too slackly guarded, he soon found Means to make his Escape, and fled beyond Seas for Protection to his Aunt the Duchess of *Burgundy*.

In

In 1471 *Henry* was once more reinstated in his kingly Dignity, by that great Setter-up and Puller-down of Kings, *Warwick*, and changed a Prison for a Throne; but his evil Fate suffered him not to enjoy it long: For *Edward*, having influenced the Duke of *Burgundy* to lend him an Aid of Men and Money, set Sail and landed at *Ravenburgh*, a Town which formerly stood on the outmost Promontory of the *Holderness* Coast of *Yorkshire*, with 2000 Soldiers besides Mariners. The first Thing he did was to send out some Light Horse to descry the Country and sound the Affections of the Inhabitants; who finding them very averse to his Title, and perfectly easy under *Henry*, he artfully changed his Note, and gave out that he now utterly disclaimed his regal Title, and came only to gain his patrimonial Estate of *York* under Obedience to *Henry*. This politic Step had its Effect, every one admired his Moderation, and thought it the highest Injustice to keep him from his Dukedom: But *Warwick*, though he heard all this, believed nothing of it, and sent strict Orders to *York* not to admit him, with the like Charge to other Places, and a Command to his Brother the Marquis, who lay then with a great Army at *Pontefract*, to march immediately and fight him; which however the Marquis neglected. *Edward* in the mean Time was advancing towards *York*, proclaiming every where *Henry* King, and styling himself only Duke of *York*.

Coming near the City he was met on the Road by two Aldermen*, who were sent to acquaint him, That the City could not receive him, but that they were obliged to do him all possible Mischief if he came that Way. He answered them, That he came not to fight against the King, nor any ways to molest him, acknowledging him to be his Sovereign Lord; but he thought he might very well enter into the Duchy of *York*, his ancient Patrimony; hoping, that as there were none could justly inhibit him this, so they least of any, being the natural Subjects of his House, from whence they had at all Times received all Manner of Grace and Favour.

The

* *Hollingshead* says it was *Thomas Conniars*, then Recorder of *York*, who met *Edward* in this Manner; but we meet with no such Name in the Catalogue of Recorders.

The Aldermen returned with this Answer, and Edward following softly after, the Citizens Minds were instantly changed; those who were got upon the Walls to defend them against him, now came down to be his Guides and Conductors, and to keep him from being injured by any one*. Two of the Citizens, *Robert Clifford* and *Thomas Burgh*, were sent out to assure him that he might safely advance, for no Man would hinder his Admittance into the City. The Magistrates, however, used more Precaution, for at his coming to the Gates, and addressing himself to them with his usual affability, styling them at every Word, *your Worshipps*; they told him they would readily admit him if he would swear to two Things: First, To preserve the City's Liberties; next, To be obedient and faithful to all King *Henry's* Commands. This Oath, however bitter the Potion was, he scrupled not to swallow, Religion in Princes ever giving Way to their Interest, and a Priest being there ready for the Purpose, it was given him at the City Gates with much Solemnity; nay, in his Entrance he rode directly to the Cathedral, and there in a more solemn Manner confirmed it at the Altar. This wilful Perjury, Historians remark, though the due Punishment of it was withheld from *Edward* himself, yet fell in full Measure on his Children. Sir *Richard Baker* indeed excuses this Action, and says, *Edward IV.* swore at the Gates of *York* that he came only to seek his own Inheritance, meaning the Kingdom, and not his Dukedom; which, adds that Historian, he was not forsworn. *Hall*, in his Chronicle, gives the Conference that *Edward* held with the Citizens of *York* under the Walls, in these Words:

"My Lord Mayor and you Worshipful Aldermen, for each of you is so, (and then, as a good Nomenclator, and many of their Names) I come not to demand the Kingdom which I did for some Years enjoy, but was given out of by the Fury and Rashness of the Earl of *Arwick* and others: I am much satisfied that such ainnacle is not the safest Station: I am resolved from henceforth to stand upon lower Ground: I found the Crown clogged with so many Cares that I deem it not worth taking up again: I shall not disturb King *Henry* in that, I only desire my own Town and my proper Inheritance,

* *Hollingshead.*

heritance, derived to me from my Ancestors the Dukes of *York*, and I have good Cause to hope that you the Lord Mayor, Worshipful Aldermen, and Citizens will aid me in this: This noble City is in all our Names, you the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Citizens of *York*, and I by my Right Duke of *York*; this is all the Favour I desire, that you and I may have the same Place inserted in our Names, which is *YORK*."

The Lord Mayor answered: "Most Noble Duke, for other Style you seem not to require, or if you should can we acknowledge; we are very sensible what bloody Conflicts have been for the Crown, which hath been the Ball of Contention between the *Red Rose* and the *White*. I name the *Red Rose* first, because that is in the present Possession, and if you, Sir Duke, should set on Foot the Claim of the *White Rose*, we know not what Mischief might follow; sure we are we should, if we admit you, be blamed by King *Henry*, and by that Make-King the Earl of *Warwick*, whom you mention: Therefore in few Words this is our Resolution, that unless you will swear not to make any Pretension to the Crown, nor disturb the King in the Government, and not to prejudice the Rights and Privileges of this City, we will not admit you to enter into this Place."

But no sooner had *Edward* got Possession of the City than he immediately assumed his regal Title; and having cajoled their Worships into the Loan of a round Sum of Money, he left a sufficient Garrison in it, and marched Southward. The Marquis *Montacute* was at this Time asleep, one would think, at *Pontefract*, and never once opposed him in his Passage. *Edward* not caring to come with his small Army into his Jaws at *Ferrybridge*, passed over the River *Aire* at *Castleford* only three Miles higher, without the least Resistance. This Conduct of the Marquis might make one suspect that he secretly favoured *Edward's* Cause; and yet the Battle of *Barnet*, fought soon after, where he and his Brother *Warwick* lost their Lives, evinces the contrary. *Edward* having gained this Conquest, and sent *Henry* once more to the Tower, where the Butcher *Richard* took Care to secure him from any more Elopement, reigned peaceably to the End of his Days.

Th

There is but one Accident more regarding us in the remaining Part of this King's Reign, mentioned in one of our old Registers *, that *Edward* on the 20th Day of September, 1478 †, made a Progress into the North, accompanied with a very numerous Suit of Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Barons, and a great Croud of other Courtiers. He was met in his Journey by all the Gentlemen and public Officers of these Parts; and amongst the rest by *John Ferriby* ‡, then Lord Mayor of *York*, who, accompanied with many of the richest Citizens, went as far as *Wentbridge* to meet him, and escorted him to *Pontefract*: Upon the Mayor's taking his Leave, the King assured him that he intended to visit his loving Subjects the Citizens of *York*. In a Week's Time the King with all his Nobles came to the City; he was met at some Distance by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty on Horseback, and by the rest of the better Sort of Citizens on Horseback or on Foot, who conducted the King with loud Acclamations into the City. He made the City a Present of a Sum of Money, as is apparent, says the Register, in the City's Book of that Year; but the particular Sum is here, either by Time or Wilfulness, obliterated. The King staid a few Days in *York*, and then set forward for *London*.

On the 9th of *April*, 1483, died *Edward IV.* His Brother *Richard*, whom he had left Protector and Guardian over the young King and Realm, was then in *York* §, and here had a solemn Funeral Requiem performed in the Cathedral for the Repose of his Brother's Soul. It was here also that the Duke of *Buckingham* sent a trusty Servant, one *Percival*, says *Hall*, to instil those Notions of Ambition into him, which afterwards proved of such dire Effect to his Nephews as well as himself.

But it is plain that *Richard* had laid his Schemes for obtaining the Crown even before his Brother's Death; and here we shall beg Leave to give some of his evil Machinations, affecting our City in particular, as a Taste of those

Vol. I.

S

those

* Ex regist. in custod. civium *Ebor.*

† The Registrarian gives the King this pompous Title, *Illustrissimus, ac uti fama omnium fert metuendissimus, ac christianissimus Edwardus Rex, &c.*

‡ Anno 1478, *John Ferriby*, Mayor. See Catalogue of Mayors. *Nobilis bujusce almæ urbis ea vice major.* Regist. *Ebor.*

§ *Hollinghead.*

those Times, from an old Record not yet delivered down in Print by any Historian that we know of. *

By a Deposition taken the 14th of *February*, 1482, it appears that his Projects were working in our City, the Substance of which is as follows :

Memorandum, " That the 14th Day of *February*, in the twenty-second Year of King *Edward IV.* came afore *John Marshall* †, Lieutenant, *Robert Rede* Gyrderuler, unto the Council-Chamber, with odyr Persons with him, and then and there shewyd, how that *William Welles*, Carpenter, should report, That the last Day of *January* last past, sityng at the Ale at *Eden Berys*, *Gutheryngate*, that one askyd and said among the Felliship sityng at Ale, Syrs, whome shall we have to our Mair this Yere? Whereunto answered and said *Stephen Hodgson*, Syrs, methyng, and it please the Commons, I wodd we had Master *Wrangwysb*, for he is the Mair that my Lord of *Gloucester* will do for, &c." ‡

The whole Deposition is too long to insert ; but it is obvious by this Part of it, that there were some underhand Dealings in the City in *Richard's* Favour, as the Consequence will shew, this *Thomas Wrangwysb* being Mayor the Year after, and assisted at *Richard's* Coronation in *York*.

Richard, soon after his Brother's Death, began to shew himself more openly ; and by taking from about his Nephews their surest Friends, the Queen their Mother, and her Brethren, made Way for his own Ambition. At this Time he thought it his Interest to cajole the whole Kingdom with kind Letters, fair Speeches and Promises, in order to bring them the more readily over to countenance his Designs. *York* and the Northern Parts were his strongest Attachment, and in order to make the City more in his Interest, a remarkable Letter was sent from him, and delivered in great Form to the Lord Mayor by *Thomas Brackenbury*, one of his Creatures, which we shall give from the Manuscript, as far as it is legible, *verbatim*.

The

* In the Chamber on *Ousebridge*.

† Deputy Mayor, we suppose, for he had been Lord Mayor two Years before. *Catalogue of Mayors*.

‡ Ex chart. in custod. com, *Ebor*.

The Duke of Gloucester, Brother and Uncle of Kings
Protector and Defensor, Grett Chamberleyne, Constable,
and Lord High Admiral of England. *

To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Mair, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Commonality of the City of York.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, wee grett you wele.

Whereas by your Letter of Supplication to us, delivered by our Servant *John Brackenbury*, wee understand that by reason of your great Charges that wee have had and sustained, as well in the Defence of this Realm against the *Scottes* as otherways, your Worshipful Citty remains greatly unpaid for, and the which wee desire us to be gud Mover unto the King's Grace, for any Ease of such Charges as yee yerely bere and pay unto his Grace's Highness. Wee let you wott that for such great Matter and Buisnesses, and wee now have to doe for the Wele and Usefulness of the Realme; we as yet ne can have convenient Leisure to accomplish this your Befiness, but be assured that, for your kind and easyng Disposition to us at all Tymes shewed, which wee never can forgett, wee in all gudly Haste shall so endeavour for your Ease in this Behalf, as that wee shall verily understand we be your especial gud and easyng Lord, as our said Friend shall shew you; to whome it wod lyke you hym to give further Credence, and for your diligent Service which he hath done to our singular Plesure unto us at this Time, we pray you to give unto him Laud and Thanks, and God keep you. Given under our Signet at the Tower at London this 8th Day of June.

This Letter was artfully contrived to curry Favour with the Citizens of *York*, at a very critical Juncture; and it was soon followed by another of a different Nature, which the same Record gives in these Words.

Memorandum, "The 15th of June, in the first Yere of the Reign of *Edward V.* *Richard Ratcliff*, Knight, delivered to *John Newton*, Mair, a Letter from the Duke of Gloucester, the Tenour of which ensueth.

S 2

The

* Ex libro chart. in custod. com. Ebor.

The Duc of Gloucestre, Brother and Uncle of Kinges Protector, Defensour, Gret Chamberleyne, Constable, and Admiral of England.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, wee greet you well,

AND as you love the Wele of us, and the Wele and Surety of your own self, we heartily pray you to come up unto us to *London*, in all the Diligence ye can possibly, after the Sight hereof, with as many as ye can make defensibly arrayed, there to aid and assist us against the Queen, her bloody Adherents and Affinity, which have entended, and dayly do entend, to murder and utterly destroy us, and our Cousyn the Duc of *Buckingham*, and the old Royal Blood of this Realm; and as is now openly known by their subtle and dampnable Wais forecasted the same, and also the final Destruction and Disherison of you, and all odyr the Enheritors and Men of Honour, as well of the North Parts as odyr Countrees that belongen unto us, as our trusty Servant this Bearer shall more at large shew you, to whom we pray you to give Credence; and as ever we may do for you in Tyme comyng, fail not but haste you to us.

Given under our Signet at *London* the 10th of *June*

The Reader may observe that this Letter is dated but two Days after the former, so that the Protector's Danger came very suddenly upon him, if he did not know it when he wrote the first; but his Fallacy and Policy is now easily seen thro'. Sir *Richard Radcliff* had brought the Queen's Relations down to *Pontefract* Castle and imprisoned them, from whence he came to *York* and delivered this Letter to the Mayor, and our Manuscript says that it was agreed betwixt them, that such Force as the City could raise, of such a sudden, should be on the *Wednesday* Night next at *Pontefract*, where the Earle of *Northumberland* waited for them, to conduct them and others to *London*. We find the Proclamation for raising them in these Words:

*Proclamat. facta in Civit. 19 Die Mensis Junii,
Anno Regni Regis Edwardi quinti primo. **

RICHARD, Brother and Unkill of Kinges, Duc of
Gloucestre, Protectour, Defendour, Gret Chamber-
ayne, Constabill, and Admirall of England, straitly
charge and command all Manner of Men, in their best
defensible Array, incontenent after this Proclamation
made, do rise and come up to London to his Highness
Company of his Cousyne the Earl of Northumberland,
the Lord Nevil, and odyr Men of Worship by his High-
ness appointed, there to aid and assist him to the sub-
duing, correcting, and punishing the Quene, her Blode,
and odyr hyr Adherents, which hath intended and dayly
do intend to murthur and utterly destroy his Royal
person, his Cousyne the Duc of Buckingham, and odyr
old Royal Blode of this Realm, as alsoe the Nobill-
men of their Companys; and as it is notably known by
many subtil and dampnabill Wais forecasted the same,
and also the final Destruction and Disheryson of them,
and of all others the Inheritors and Men of Honour, as
well of these North Parts, as of other Cuntrees that be-
longen them. And therefore in all Diligence prepare
yourself, and come up as yee love your Honour, Weles,
and Suretys, and the Suretys of yourself and the Com-
monweil of this Realm.

What Effect this Proclamation produced History in-
forms us, which, though not much to the Credit of our
fellow-Citizens, must be given. It is true that *George
Buck, Esq;* who has wrote a panegyricall Account of this
King's Reign, calls them 4000 Gentlemen of the North,
who came up to assist at *Richard's* Coronation †. *Hall*
and *Grafton* say there were 5000, but speak opprobri-
ously of our Countrymen, "evil apparelled and worse
arnessed, say they, which, when mustered, were the
Contempt of the Beholders." *Fabian* ‡, who lived at
his Time, and probably saw this Armament, being a
Londoner, has left this Account of them: "*Richard* not

S 3

daring

* Ex libro chart. in custod. com. Ebor.

† *Kennet's History of England.*

‡ *Robert Fabian* ended his Chronicle the last of *Richard III.* He
was Sheriff of London in 1494.

daring to trust the *Londoners*, for Fear of the *Queene* Bloud, an othere of which he had Jealousye, he sent for a Strenth of Men out of the North. The which came shortly to *London* a little before his Coronation, and mustered in the *Morefelds* well upon 4000 Men in their best Jacks and rusty Salletts, with a few in white Harnessse, but not burnished to the Sale; and shortly after his Coronation were countermaunded home with sufficient Rewards for their Travaile."

Richard having got Possession of the Crown of *England*, his Nephews imprisoned, and their Relations executed at *Pontefract*, made a Progress into the North as far as *York*, in order for a second Coronation in that City. To this Place (if the Hypocrite could ever be sincere) he seemed to pay an extraordinary Regard though, according to *Rapin*, his Pretence of going down now was to minister Justice every where; nor could he help executing some of his Northern Soldiers, who in their March back from *London* had committed great Outrages. *Richard* made his Progress by *Windsor*, *Oxford*, and *Coventry* to *Nottingham*; during this, the execrable Murder of the two young Princes was perpetrated in the Tower; a Fact so horrid that every Tongue must fault and every Hand tremble, that either speaks or writes of it. From *Nottingham* we find a Letter in the same Record, wrote by his Secretary, to stir up a Zeal in the Citizens of *York* towards his better Reception there. The Letter is an Original indeed, and proves the Secretary worthy of the Master.

To the gude Masters the Mair, Recorder, and Aldermen and Sheriffs of the Cite of York. *

I Recommend me unto you as heartily as I can. Thanked be *Jesu* the King's Grace is in good Health, as is likewise the *Queenes* Grace, and in all their Progress have byn worshipfully resceyved with Pageants and odyr, &c. And his Lords and Judges in every Place sitting determining the Complayntes of pore Folkes, with due Punction of Offenders against his Lawes. The Cause I writ to you now is, for so much as I verily know the King's Mind and entire Affection that his Grace beareth towards you and your worshipful

* Ex libro chart. supradict.

Cite, for manifold your kind and lovyn Desynings to his Grace, shewed heretofore, which his Grace will never forget, and intendeth therefore soe to doe unto you, that all the Kings that ever reigned bestowed upon you did they never soe much; doubt not hereof, ne make ne Manner of Petition or Desire of any Thing by his Highness to you to be graunted. But this I advise you, as laudably as your Wisdom can imagin, to receive him and the Queen at their coming, dispose you to do as well with Pageants with such gude Speeches, as can gudely, this short Warning considered, be devised, and under such Form as Master *Lancaster* of the King's Council this Brynger shall sumwhat advertise you of my Mind in that Behalf; as in hangyng the Streetes thro' which the King's Grace shall come with Clothes of Arras, Tappestre Work, and other; for there comen many Sothern Lords and Men of Worship with them, which will mark greatly your resayving thar Graces. Me neded not thus to advise you, howbeit many Things I shew you thus of good Heart, and for the singular Zele and Love which I beer to you and your Cite afore all other. Ye shall well know that I shall not forbere calling on his Grace for your Weles, ne remember it as Master *Lancaster* shall shew you, which in Part heard the King's Grace speak hereon, to whom touching the Premisses it may like you in Haste, the 23d Day of *August* at *Nottingham*, with the Hand of your Friend and Lover,

JOHN KENDALE, *Secretary*.

This Letter needs no Comment; it must produce an extraordinary Emulation in our Citizens to outvy other Places, and even one another, in the Pomp and Ceremony of the King's Reception; but we cannot meet with a particular Account of it in our Records. Mr. *Buck*, whom we have quoted before, says that *Richard* coming to the goodly and ancient City of *York*, the Scope and Goal of his Progress, he was received with all possible Honour and Fertility. And now all Things are preparing for the Coronation, in order for which the King sent from *York*, on the last Day of *August*, to *Piers Courteis*, Keeper of his Wardrobe, the following Order. *

* *Kennet's Notes on G. Buck, Esq.*

By

By the KING.

WE wol and charge you to deliver to the Bryngers hereof for us the Parcells following; that is to say, One Doublett of Purple Sattin lined with Holland Cloth, and enterlined with Buske; one Doublett of tawney Sattin, lined in likewise; two short Gowns of Crymsyn Cloth of Gold, the one with Drippis and the other with Netts, lined with green Velvet; one Cloak with a Cape of Velvet ingrayned, the Bow lined with black Velvet; one Stomacher of Purple Sattin, and one Stomacher of tawney Sattin; one Gown of green Velvet lined with tawney Sattin; one Yard and three Quarters Course of Sike (Silk) medled with Gold, and as much black Corse of Silk for our Spurs; two Yards and Half and three Nayles of white Cloth of Gold for a Crynelze for a Borde; five Yards of black Velvet for the Lining of a Gown of green Sattin; one Plakard made of Part of the said two Yards; and one Half and two Nayles of white Cloth of Gold lined with Buckram; three Pair of Spurrs short, all gilt; two Pair of Spurrs long, white Parcell gilt; two Yards of black Buckram for amending of the Lining of diverse Trappers; one Banner of Sarfanet of our Lady; one Banner of the Trinity; one Banner of St. *George*; one Banner of St. *Edward*; one of St. *Cutbert*; one of our own Arms, all Sarcenet; three Coats of Arms beaten with fine Gold for our own Person; five Coat Armors for Heralds lined with Buckram; forty Trumpet Banners of Sarcenett; seven hundred and forty Penfills of Buckram; three hundred and fifty Penfills of Tarter; four Standards of Sarcenett with Boars; thirteen thousand Quynfans of Fustian with Boars. And these our Letters, &c.

How this Cargo of extraordinary Garniture was used is not so particularly known; but we may suppose that the Coronation was performed with great Magnificence. *Hall* indeed tells us, that *Richard* was received at *York* with great Pomp and Triumph by the Citizens: That at the Day of his Coronation, to which, by Proclamation, he had invited the whole Country, the Clergy of the Church in their richest Copes, and with a reverend Ceremony, went about the Streets in Procession; after whom

whom followed the King with his Crown and Sceptre, apparelled in his Surcoat Robe Royal, accompanied with a great Number of the Nobility of the Realm: Then followed Queen *Ann* his Wife, crowned likewise, leading in her Left Hand Prince *Edward* her Son, having on his Head a Demy Crown appointed for the Degree of a Prince. In this Manner they marched to the Cathedral, where Archbishop *Rotheram* set the Crown on *Richard's* Head in the Chapter-House*. On the same Day was *Edward* his Son, a Youth of ten Years of Age, invested with the Principality of *Wales* by a Golden Rod and a Coronet of Gold, and other Ensigns. The King now knighted *Gaufridus de Sasiola*, Ambassador from the Queen of *Spain*, who was present at this Solemnity, by putting a Collar of Gold about his Neck, and striking three Times upon his Shoulders with his Sword, and by other Marks of Honour, according to the *English* Custom, with agreeable Words added †; in Testimony whereof the King gave him his Letters Patents, dated at his Court at *York*. He also here knighted *Richard*, surnamed of *Gloucester* ‡, his Bastard Son, and many Gentlemen of these Parts. The Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Realm were present on this solemn Occasion; and indeed it was a Day of great State, says *Polydore Vergil*, there being then three Princes in *York* wearing Crowns, the King, the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*. And now followed Tilts and Tournaments, Masques, Revels, and Stage-Plays, with other triumphant Sports, with Feasting to the utmost Prodigality; in which was squandered away all that Treasure, which his glorious Brother had for many Years been collecting with great Skill and Industry; and being left by his last Will to the Disposal of his Executors, was snatched up by *Richard* at his Intrusion

* September 8, 1483.

† Kennet on Buck.

‡ This *Richard* of *Gloucester*, Bastard Son to King *Richard*, has a very odd Account given of the Course of Life he was driven to take after his Father was slain: It is said he bound himself Apprentice to a Bricklayer, and actually worked at that Trade for several Years; till at length being found out, a Gentleman took Pity on him, and suffered him to build a House in his Park, in which he lived and died. The Story at Length is given in the Rev. Mr. *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II. Some better Memorials of it may be had from the Right Hon. the Earl of *Winchelsea*, in whose noble Park at *Eastwell*, in *Kent*, this *Richard Plantagenet*, as the Parish Register calls him, resided and ended his Days.

trusion into the Kingdom, says our Authority, which runs contemporary with these Times, and wasted in this Manner. *

Before *Richard* left *York* he did not forget the Promise made by him and his Secretary to the City and Citizens for old Services and new, and, willing to do some extraordinary Bounty to them, we find this imperfect Memorial of it. †

Memorandum, "That the xviith Day of the Month of *September*, in the first Yere of the Reign of King *Richard* the Third, *John Newton* then being Mair of the Cite of *York*, our said Sovereign Lord the King, of his most special gude Grace, remembering the gude Service that the said Cite hath don to his gude Grace made to defray and sitt in the Yorney made in the same Yere to *Edenburg* and to *London* to the Coronation of his gude Grace; callid afore his gude Grace the said Day to the Chapter-House of the Cathedral Church of *S. Peter* in *York*, the said Mair, his Bredyr the Aldermen, and mong other the Commons of the said Cite, and then and there our said Sovereign Lord openly reherfed the said Service to his gude Grace don, and also the Dekay and the great Poverty of the said Cite, of his most special gude Grace without any Petition or asking of any Thing by the said Mair or any odyr, our said Sovereign Lord only of his abundant Grace most graciously and habundantly granted and gave in Relief of the said Cite in esyng of the *Tolls*, *Murage*, *Bucher-Pennys*, and *Skaitgild* of the said Cite yerely xxiii*l.* xii*s.* ii*d.* for evyr; that is to say, for the *Murage* xx*l.* and the Residue to the Sheriffs; so that from thence forward it shold be lesfull to every Person coming to the said Cite with their Guds and Cattell, and them freely to sell in the same without any Thing gratifying or paying for Toll or *Murage* of any of the said Guds; and his Grace most graciously granted to the Mair

* *Non deerant tunc thesauri ulli quibus tam elevata mentis sue propositum adimpleret; cum ea quæ gloriosissimus rex Edwardus frater suus, summo ingenio, summaque industria multis ante annis collegerat, quæque ad complimentum suæ ultimæ voluntatis suorum executorum dispositioni commisserat, iste quam primum de sua intrusione in regnum cognovit, omnia diripuit.* Hist. Croy. Cont.

† Ex chart. supradict.

Mair and Commonality of the said Cite yerely xl*l.* for
 ver, to the Behoof of the Commonality and Chamber of
 the said Cite; and yerely to the Mair for the Tyme be-
 ing, as his Chief Serjeant at Ayms, xii*d.* of the Day,
 that is to say, by the Yere xviii*l.* vi*s.*" *

Richard's Munificence to our City at this Time, whe-
 ther it proceeded from Gratitude or Policy, was a truly
 Royal Gift. Amongst all his Vices we never found
 him taxed with Covetousness; he had many Reasons,
 both on his own and Family's Account, to induce him
 to do more for a City, which had always signalized
 itself in the Interest of his House. Every one that is
 acquainted with *English* History must know, that there
 is hardly any Part of it so dark as the short Reign of
 this King. The *Lancastrian* Party, which destroyed and
 succeeded him, took Care to suppress his Virtues, and
 to paint his Vices in the most glaring Colours. How-
 ever, what Opinion our Citizens of *York* had of King
 Richard at that Time, will best appear by their own
 records, in which they took Care to register every par-
 ticular Letter and Message they received from him; and
 his Fate drew nigh they endeavoured to shew their
 loyalty, or their Gratitude, to this Prince in the best
 manner they were able. Some more Letters which
 were sent to the Mayor and Citizens when the Commo-
 ns begun, as likewise their daily Orders in Council
 about the State of Affairs, to the King's Death and af-
 ter, may not be unacceptable to the Reader in a literal
 extract from the City's Registers. †

Very

To give the Reader a better Notion of the Value of these Royal
 Gifts, take this *Computus* from the *Chronicon Pretiosum* of Bishop
 Becketwood, of what Price Corn bore in the South of *England*, in
 1463, just twenty Years before this.

1463. at London,	s.	d.	At Norfolk the same Year,	
Wheat per Quarter	2	0	Wheat	1 8
Barley	1	10	Barley	1 0
Peas	3	4	Malt	1 8
Oats	1	2	Oats (Mr. Stowe)	1 0

So that the Value of One Shilling, even in the Time of the Civil
 War, bought one Quarter of Barley or Oats, which makes the
 donation very considerable.

These Registers are to be found, according to the Date of the
 Year, in the Chamber on Ousebridge. The Register the following
 chiefly collected from, is marked *Ab anno 1479 ad 1485 R.* but
 is imperfect towards the End.

Very soon after *Richard* had been crowned at *York*, the Duke of *Buckingham* took up Arms against him; of which Insurrection the King sent Notice to the Citizens of *York*; a Memorial of which is entered in the Records as follows:

Memorandum, 13 Oct. 1 Richard III. John Olyr, Yeoman of the Crown, brought the following Letter to the Lord Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Comunalitie.

By the KING.

To our Trusty and Right Well-beloved the Maire, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Communalitie of the Citie of York.

Trusty and Right Wel-beloved,

WE grete ye wele, and let ye wit that the Duke of *Buckingham* traiterously is turned upon us, contrary to the Dute of his Legeance, and entendeth the utter Destruction of us, you, and all other our true Subgiets that have taken our Part; whose traiterous Entend we with God's Grace entend briefly to resist and subdue. We desire and pray you in our hearty wise that ye will send unto us as many Men defensibly arraied on Horseback, as ye may godely make to our Town of *Licestre* the 21 Day of this present Month withouten Fail, as ye will tendre our Honner and your own Wele, and we shall so see you paid for your Reward and Charges as yee shall hold yee wele content, geving further Credence to our trusty Pursuant this Berer.

Geven under our Signet at our Cite of Lincoln the xith Day of October.

A Proclamation, under the Privy-Seal, dated at *Lincoln, October 15*, declaring the Duke of *Buckingham* Traitor, was proclaimed at *York, October 16, 1483*, say the Record.

In the same Records we find another Letter dated the 11th of *April*, which must be in the Year 1484, when the Tide was beginning to turn against King *Richard* giving an Account of the Number of Lyes, as he expresses himself, and contumelious Speeches which were then spread abroad against him, requiring the Magistrates of this City to suppress all such Slanders, and to take

the Spreaders of it. The Letter is a very particular one, and shews the Depth of Policy in this King's Reign more than any Thing that we have yet seen published of it; and therefore shall give it *verbatim*.

To our Trusty and Wel-beloved the Maire and his Brethre of the Citye of York.

Trusty and Wel-beloved, we grete you wele.

AND where it is soe that diverse seditious and evil-disposed Personnes, both in our Citie of *London* and elsewhere within this our Realme, enforce themselves daily to sowe Sede of Noise and Disclandre agaynests our Personne, and agenst many of the Lords and Estates of our Land, to abuse the Multitude of our Subgetts and alter ther Mynds from us, if they could by any Meane attayne to that there mischevous Entent and Purpose; some by setting up of Billes, some by Message and sending furth of false and abhominable Langage and Lyes; some by bold and presumptuous opene Spech, wherthewyth the innocent People, whiche wold live in Rest and Peas, and truly undre our Obbeissance as they ought to do, being gretely abused, and oft Tymes put in Daungeres of there Lives, Landes, and Goods, as ofte as they folowe the Stepps and Devises of the said seditious and mischevous Personnes, to our Hevyneffe and Paine. For Remedy wherof, and to thentent the Truth openlye declared shuld repressse all suche false and contrived Inventions, we now of late called before us the Maire and Aldermen of our Citie of *London*, togidder with the moost sadde and disgrete Personnes of the same Citie in grete Numbre, being present, many of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of our Land, and the Substance of all our Housholde, to whom we largely shewed our true Entent and Mynde in all suche Thinges which the saide Noise and Disclandre renne upon, in such wise as we doubt not all wel-disposed Personnes were and be therewith right wele content; where we alsoe at the same Tyme gave straitly in Charge, as well to the said-Maire as to all other our Officers, Servants, and faithfull Subgettes, whersoere they be, that from hensfurth as ofte as they find any Personne speking of us, or any other Lord or Estate of this our Land, otherways then is according to

Honour, Trough, and the Peas and Ritefullnesse of this our Realme, or telling of Tales and Tidings whereby the People might be stirred to Commotions and unlawful Assemblies, or any Strife and Debate arise between Lord and Lord, or us and any of the Lords and Estates of this our Land, they take and arrest the same Person unto the Tyme he have brought forth hym or them of whom he understode that that is spoken, and so proceeding from oon to other unto the Tyme the furthest Auctor and Maker of the said seditious Speche and Langage be taken and punyshed according to his Deserts. And that whosoever first finde any seditious Bill set up in any Place he take it downe, and without reding or shewing the same to any other Person, bring it forth with unto us, or some of the Lords or other of our Counsaill. All which Charges and Commandements, soo by us taken and geven by our Mouthe to our Citie of London, we notifie unto you by these our Letters, to thentent that ye shewe the same within all the Places of your Jurisdiction, and see there the due Execution of the same from Tyme to Tyme, as ye woll eschewe our greivous Indignation, and answere unto us at your extreme Perill. Given under our Signet at our Citie of London the xith Day of April.

By the KING.

Richard's short Reign drawing still nearer a Period, and his tragical End approaching, we find several Orders of Council entered in the Register of those Times, of the Date and in the Manner following:

Veneris post Festum S. Thome, Martyris. viz. viii^o Die Julii, (1485) An. Reg. Regis R. III. tertio.

<i>Nicholaus Lancaſtre, M^r.</i>	<i>Thomas Ellay,</i>	} XXIV.
<i>Thomas Wrangwicke,</i>	<i>Willielmus Spence,</i>	
<i>Willielmus Snawſell,</i>	<i>Willielmus Tayte,</i>	
<i>Johannus Tong,</i>	<i>Ricardus Clerk,</i>	
<i>Willielmus Chymney,</i>	<i>Johannes Hay,</i>	
<i>Thomas Fynch, Vic.</i>	<i>Willielmus White,</i>	
	<i>Mila Grenebank,</i>	

Wer assembled in the Counsaill Chambre within the Guildhall of this Citie, where and when it was thought by

by the Counsaill, that such Bill of Proclamation as was shewed by the Maire, delivered unto hym on the King's Behalve by the Sheref of the Shire to be proclaimed thurgh out the Citie, should be shewed unto the Merchers of evere Craft within this Citie, which shall have in Commaundement by the Maire, that evere Man of any Craft within this Citie forsaide, being franchest, be redie defensibly arrayed to attend upon the Mayre of this Citie and his Brethre for the Savegard of the same, to the King's Behove, or otherwayes at his Commaundement.

Martis post Festum Assumpt. Beate Marie Virg. viz. xvi
Die Augusti, An. Reg. Regis R. III. tertio.

Nicolaus Lancastre,	Mr.	Thomas Cator,	} de xxiv.
Willielmus Snawfell,	} de xii.	Willielmus Spense,	
Johannes Tong,		Willielmus Tayte,	
Willielmus Chymney,		Ricardus Clercke,	
Johannes Gylliot,		Johannes Hay,	
Thomas Fynche	} Vic.	Willielmus White,	
		Ricardus Hardsang,	

Wer assembled in the Counsaill Chambre upon Ouse-
brig, where and when it was determyned by the same,
that John Spon, Sergeant to the Maſt, shuld ride to Not-
tingham to the King's Grace, to understaund his Plesure
in sending up any of his Subgettes within this Citie to
his said Grace, for the subduing of his Enemies lately
arrived in the Partes of Wales, or otherwise to be dis-
posed at his most high Plesure. Also it was determyned
that all such Aldermen and other of the Counsaill as was
journyng, for the Plage that reigneth, without the
Citie, shuld be sent for to give their best Advyses in such
Things as concerned the Wele and Savegard of the said
Citie, and all othyr Inhabitants of the same.—Also that
every Warden of this Citie serche the Inhabitants with-
in his Ward, that they have sufficient Wapens and Arms
for their Defence of the Wall of this Citie.—Also that
other shall Proclamations be maide thurgh out this Citie,
that evere Man franchest within this Citie be redie, in
the most defensibile Araye, to attend upon the Maire for
the Welfare of this Citie within an Owres Warnyng; on
payne of Imprisonment.

Veneris post Fest. Assumpt. &c. viz. xix Die Augusti
An. ut supra.

Nicholaus Lancaſtre, Mr. } Wer aſſembled in the Countie
&c. N^o 17. } ſail Chambré, wher and wher
it was determined upon the

Report of *John Nicholſon*, who was comen home from the King's Grace fro *Baſkwood*, that iv. c. Men of the Citie deſenſibly arrayed, *John Haſtings*, Gentleman of the Mace, being Captayn, ſhuld in all Haſt poſſible depart towards the King's Grace for the ſubduyng of his Enemyes forſaid; wherupon eche Pariſh in the Citie was ſeſſed as it appeareth hereafter; and that eche Sougior ſhuld have x s. for x Days, being furth xii d. by Day; and alſo that the Counſail ſhuld meet at ii of the Clock at Aſternone the ſame Day at the *Geld-bell*, there to poynt ſuch Perſonnes as ſhuld take Wages, and then to receve the ſame.

Martis Vigil S. Bartholomei, viz. xxiii^o Die Augusti
An. &c. vacat. Regal. poteſt.

Nicholaus Lancaſtre, Mr. } Wer aſſembled in the Countie
&c. N^o 15. } ſail Chambré, wher and wher
it was ſhewed by diſverſe Per

ſonnes, eſpecially by *John Spon* ſent unto the *Feld of Redemore*, to bring Tydings from the ſame to the Citie that King *Richard*, late lawfully reigning over us, was through grete Treason of the Duc of *Northfolk*, and many othyr that turned againſt hym, with many othyr Lords and Nobilitie of theſe North Partes, was pitiouſly ſlain and murdered, to the grete Hevynneſſe of this Citie, the Names of whom followeth hereafter.

Wherefore it was determyned, for ſo much as it was that the Erle of *Northumberland* was comen to *Wreſtle* that a Lettre ſhuld be conveyed unto the ſaid Erle, beſeching hym to give unto them his beſt Advife how to diſpoſe them at this woſull Season, both to his Honour and Worſhip, and Well and Prouffit of this Citie. The Tenor wherof followeth:

To, &c. the Erle of Northumberland.

“Right potent and right noble, our moost honorable eſpecial, and ſingular good Lord, in our moost humble

wife we recommend us unto your good Lordship, loving Almighty God of your home Enduryng at this wooful Season, beseeching your good Lordship to be towards us and this Citie as ye have ben hertofore right good and tendre Lord, and so to advertise us at this Tyme, as may be to the Honor of your Lordship as well and Prouffit of us and Sauffegard of this said Citie, wherunto we shall applye us both with Bodie and Goods, and to owe unto your Lordship our faithfull and true Further we beseech your Lordship to geve full Faith and Credence unto our Servant *John Nicholson*, the Berer hereof, in such Things as he shall shewe unto your Lordship of our Behalve; and the blessed Trinity, &c."

Yours, &c.

Maire, Aldermen, Sheriffs, xxiv of the Counsaile of the Citie of York, with thole Communalitie of the same.

Mecurii Festum S. Bartholomei, viz. 23^o Die Augusti, Anno, &c. Vacat regalis potestas.

Nicholaus Lancastre Mr. } Wer assembled in the Coun-
 &c. N^o 13. } sail Chambre, wher and when it
 was determined that the Maire,

with his Brethre shuld attend and mete Sir *Henry Percy* at ii o' the Clok at Afternone, at the Miln in the Strete without *Walmgate-Bar*, ther to understand how they shall be disposed enent the King's Grace *Henry* the Sevent, so proclaimed and crowned at the Feld of *Redemore*.

Also it was determined that oon Sir *Roger Cotam*, Knight unto the said King's Grace, now comen to this Citie to proclame the said King *Henry*, shuld be presented with ii — and ii Gallons of Wyne at the Chambre Cost.

Also *John Nicholson*, which was sent to *Wressell* to the Erle of *Northumberland* with Writing, appered in the Counsaile Chambre, and shewed how it was shewed unto hym by Sir *Henry Percy* being ther, that the said Erle was with the King at *Leicestre* for the Well of himself and this Citie, and that the said Sir *Henry* wold be at the Milne without the Bar as above. Wherefore it was determined to meet with hyme ther.

Also the same Day, forsomuch as the forsaide Sir Roger Cotam durst not for Fere of Deth come through the Citie to speake with the Maire and his Brethre, it was thought that they shuld goo unto him, wherupon the Maire and his Brethre went unto the Sign of the Boore, and ther they speak with the said Knight, which shewed unto them that the King named and proclamed Henry the VII. grete them well, and wold be unto them and this Citie as good and gratiouse Sovereign Lord as any of his Noble Progenitors was before, with othyr Words of Comforth; wherof the Maire and his Brethre thanks him moch, and soo departed.

Also it was determined that such Sogiers as went furth of this Citie having Wages for x Dayes xii*d.* by the Day, and was furth but iiii Dayes and a Half, shuld have Wages for vi Dayes and no more, and the Residue of the Money to be repaid to the Chamberlaynes, to pay to such Parishes as paid the same.

Jovis post Fest. S. Bartholomei, viz. 25^o Die Augusti,
A. Dom. 1485.

Nicholaus Lancastrre, Mr. } Wer assembled in the Conn-
Es. N^o 11. } sail Chambre, wher and when
it was determined that William

Wells, William Chimney, Robert Hawk, Aldermen, William Tayte and John Hay of the xxiv. shall ride unto the Kings Grace Henry the vii. in the Name of th'ole Bodie of this Citie, beseching his Grace to be good and gracious Lord unto this Citie as othyr his noble Progenitours hath ben tofore, and to confirme of his most habundant Grace all such Franchises, Liberties, Fees, and Freedoms as hath ben granted to the said Citie hertofore by his said noble Progenitours; and that ther be several Letters made as well to the Erle of Northumberland as the Lord Stanelay, for the good Speed of the Premises: Also that the said Aldermen and ii. of the xxiiii. be accompanied with xv. Yomen and Horses, and have Gownes of Must Deviles, and ther Gownes of othyr Color convenient for them; and that Alexander Daufon, Chamberlayn, ride with the same Personnes, and bere all Costs provided of the Chambre.

Also, that ther shal be a Proclamacion mad through out this Citie, which Proclamacion was delivered unto the

the Mayre and his Brethre by one of the Kings Herolds, called *Wyndfore*, in the Counsaile Chambre, having upon hym a Cote Armor of the Armes of *England* and *Fraunce*; which Herold shewed unto the Mayre by Mouthe, that the Kings Grace grete hym and his Bredre wele, and would be as good and gracious Lord unto this Citie as any of his Progenitours were before him, with othyr moch Wordes of Comforth, wherfore he desired hym on the Kings Behalve to make a Proclamacion after the Tenor that followeth:

Copia Proclamationis Henrici Regis Ang. VII.

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *Fraunce*, Prince of *Wales*, and Lord of *Ireland*, strictly charges and commaundeth upon Peyne of Deth, that no Manner of Man robbe nor spoyle na Manner of Commons comyng from the Feld; but suffre theme to passe home to ther Cuntrees and Dwelling-Places with their Horses and Harnesse. And morover that noo Manner of Man take upon hym to goe to noo Gentilmanz Place, neither in the Cuntree, nor within Cities nor Borows, nor pike no Quarells for old or for new Matters, but kepe the Kings Peace upon Payne of Hanging, &c. And morover if ther be any Man assferred to be robbed and spoyled of his Goods, let hym come to Master *Richard Borow*, the King's Sergeant here, and he shall have a Warrant for his Bodie and his Goods, unto the Tyme the Kings Pleasure be knowne.—And morover the King assertayneth you, that *Richard Duc of Gloucestre*, late callid King *Richard*, was slayne at a Place called *Sandeford*, within the Shyre of *Leicestre*, and brought dede of the Feld unto the Towne of *Leicestre*, and ther was laide oppenly, that every Man might se and luke upon him; and also ther was slayne uppon the same Feld *John* late Duc of *Northfolk*, *John* late Erle of *Lincoln*, *Thomas* late Erle of *Surrey**, *Fraunceys* Vicount *Lovell*, *Sir Walter Deveres*, Lord *Ferreres*, *Richard Ratcliff*, Knight, *Robert Brachenbury*, Knight; with many othyr Knights, Squires, and Gentilmen, of whose Soules God have Mercy.

After

* This is evidently a Mistake. The Earl of *Surry* was not slain, but taken Prisoner, and afterwards pardoned and taken into Favour.

After which Proclamation made, the said Mayre and his Brethre comyng to the Chambre agayn, determined that the said Harold, for his Message and comfortable Words, shuld have in Reward of the Chambre vi. Marks iiij. Aungells.

Copie of a Letter directed to the Erle of Northumberland for the good Spede forsaide.

Right potent and right noble, our moost especial and singular good Lord, in our moost humble wise we recommend us unto your good Lordship, loving Almighty God of your prosprouse Lif, the which *Jesu* continue in Felicity both ghostly and bodily, thanking your good Lordship of your tendre Luff and Favor which your Lordship ever hath borne towards us and this Citie, whom we beseeche you continue, and in especial at this Season, in the which we know right wele your Lordship unto us is moost necessarye: And wheras we send up unto the Kings Grace iii. of our Aldermen and othyr of our Counsaill Chambre to beseeche his Grace to accept us benignely unto his Grace, graunting unto us and this Citie all such Fraunchises, Liberties, Freedoms, and annual Fees, with all othyr Commodities and Prouffitts unto the same belonging, and graciously graunted by all othyr his moost noble Progenitours; we beseeche your good Lordship in the good Furtherance and Spede hereof, to shew unto our said Brethre your noble Advise how to labor to the said Kings Grace for the same; and we shall ever pray for the Staite of you, right potent and right noble, our moost especial and singular good Lord in Felicitie ever to endure.

*Your Orators and Servants, the Mayre,
Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and xxiv of
the Counsaill of the Citie of York,
with th'ole Communalitie of the same.*

From York the 26th
Day of August.

Sabbati, viz. xxvii^o Die Augusti, Anno Regni Regis
Henrici septimi primo incipien.

Nicholaus Lancastre, Mr. } Wer assembled in the Coun-
Et c. N^o. 5. } sail Chambre, when and wher-
oon Robert Rawdon, Gentil-
man, Sergeant unto the Kings Grace, personally ap-
pered

pered, and gave unto the Maire and the Counsaile a Commandement and Warrant under the Kings Signet and Signe Manual to him direct, to attache *Robert [Stillington]* Bishop of *Bath*, and *Sir Richard Ratcliff*, Knight, and to bring them personally unto his Highnesse, and to seale into his Hands all their Goods, moveable and immoveable, as it appereth more at large in the Warrant, the Tenor wherof followeth hereafter. Whereupon the said *Rawdon* instantly desired the said Maire and Sheriffs on the Kings Behalve, as his true liege Men and Subgetts, that, in the execution of his said Warrant, they wold geve ther Attendaunce, Aid, and Assistance. Wherein, after som Consultation upon the same, for so moch as the said Bishop was attached tofore by oon Herold *Wyndfore*, and *Robert Borow*, Gentilman, the Kings Servants, and brought unto the Citie, and lay within the Franchesse and Liberty of the same, and was sore crased, by Reason of his Trouble and Carying, the Maire taking with hym the above-written of the Counsaile of the Chambre, the said *Rawdon* and *Rob. Borow*, instantly prepared to go to the said Bishop to Master *Nelson* Place, to speke with him; being come unto hym unto the said Place, wher and when it was appointed of the Consent of the said *Rawdon*, that the said Bishop shuld continue still within the said Citie for iv. or v. Days for his Ease and Rest. The Tenor of the Warrant foloweth:

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Ireland, to our trusty and wel-beloved *Robert Rawdon*, Gentleman, greeting. For as moch as *Robert* Bishop of *Bath*, and *Sir Richard Ratcliff*, Knight, Adherents and Assislents to our grete Enemy *Richard*, late Duc of *Gloucestre*, to his Aide and Assistance, have by diverse Ways offended agenst the Crowne to us of Right appurteyneing, we will and charge you, and by this our Warrant commit and geve you Power to attache the said Bishop and Knight, and them personally bring unto us, and to seale into our Hands all such Goods, Moveables and Immoveables, as, the 22d Day of *August*, in the first Year of our Reigne, appurteyned and belonged unto them, whersoever they be found, as well in Places privileged as elleswhere, and the same soo seased to put into such Suerte and Savegard

as

as ye will answer to us for them at all Tymes. Charging moreover, and strictly commaundynge all our true Subgettes and Legemen that to the execution herof they geve you Attendaunce, Aide, and Assistance, without doeing of any Thyng that shall be prejudicial to the Permisses, as they will avoyde our grievous Displeasure, and answer unto us at their Peril.

Geven undre our Signet at our Towne of *Leicestri*, the 23d Day of *August*, the first Yere of our Reign.

Per Signet. et Sigillum manuale

F O X.

Lune, viz. penult. Die Augusti, Anno Reg. Regis Henrici primo.

Nicolaus Lancastre, M^r. } Wer assembled in the Coun-
Et c. N^o 9. } sail Chambre, wher and when
it was determined, that the
Gates and Posturnes of the Citie shold be shut evere Night at ix of the Clock, and opened at Morowning at iiiii: And that iiiii Men of evere Warde be warned to watch at evere Gate evere Night for the Safegard of the Citie, and the Inhabitants of the same. Also ther was a Lettre direct from the Kings Grace unto the Maire and his Brethre, charging them by the same to geve ther Assistance and Aide in such Matters as appereth in the said Letters, wherof the Tenor followeth.

By the KING.

To our Trusty and Wel-beloved the Maire, Aldermen, and Sherriffs of our Citie of York.

TRusty and wel-beloved, we grete you wele, and late you wit that, for diverse Causes us touching, we send unto your Partes our trusty and wel-beloved Servant Sir *John Halewell*, Knight, wherfore we woll and pray you, and upon that on your Liegeance instantly charge and command you, that in all such Matters as the said Sir *John* shall shew unto you on our Behalve, yee give your Assistance and Ajde, and that yee ne faile therof as yee will deserve of us our especial Thankes.

Geven undre our Signet at our Towne of *Leicestri*, the xxiii Day of *August*.

Sabbatti,

Sabbati, viz. iiii^o Die Septembris, Regni Regis Henrici VII. primo.

Nicolaus Lancastre, M^r. } Wer assembled in the Coun-
 Ec. N^o 16. } sail Chambre within the Guild-
 hall, when and where it was
 shewed by Thomas Wrangwishe, William Welles, William
 Chymney, Aldermen, William Tate and John Hay, of
 the xxiv. late sent unto the King for the Well of this
 Citie, that the said Kings Grace accept them in the
 Name of tholl Bodie of this Citie, graciously unto his
 Highnesse graunting that the said Citie shuld be hol-
 den of the same, and that the Inhabitants and Citi-
 zens of the said City shall have and enjoy all and all
 Manner of Fraunchisses, Liberties, Freedoms, Graunts,
 Hises, and Prouffits unto them belonging, in as large
 and ample Manner and Forme, with better, as any of
 his noble Progenitours had graunted to the said Citie at
 any Tyme hertofore. The which Premisses was shewed
 by the Mouth of the said Thomas Wrangwishe, not only
 unto the Mayre and the Counsaile, but also incontinently
 to the Commons assembled the said Day in the Guild-
 hall forsaide. After which the Maire taking with hym
 all above written entered the Chambre agayn, where,
 after due Thanks geven unto the said Thomas Wrang-
 wishe and his Felows, for ther grete Labor and comfort-
 able Tidings, it was determined that William Welles and
 William Chymney shuld towards their Horsehyre have in
 Reward xx s. and either of the xxiv v s. And on this
 — desunt cætera.

These Sketches of History, long buried in Silence, we
 bring to Light, as a Taste of those Times rendered dark
 enough by the Writers of the Lancastrian Party. Here
 is Subject sufficient for an Historian to expatiate largely
 upon, and to such we leave it, the growing Bulk of this
 Work not suffering us to enter into it; let the Times
 then speak for themselves.

It is plain that Richard, represented by most as a
 Monster of Mankind, was not so esteemed in his Life-
 time in these Northern Parts; and had the Earl of North-
 umberland staid and raised Forces here, he might have
 endangered Henry's new-acquired Diadem. Wanting
 that

that Nobleman's personal Appearance amongst them, our City had nothing to do but, with the rest of the Kingdom, to submit to the Conqueror, whose Policy taught him to shew great Acts of Clemency at his Entrance into Government, though he must know that neither his Title nor his Family were recognized or respected in these Northern Parts of the Kingdom.

The first Thing the Victor did after his Conquest near *Bosworth*, Anno 1485, was to send immediately for the Princess *Elizabeth*, the Heiress of the House of *York*, whom he had sworn to marry before his Invasion. This Princess had been sent by *Richard* a Kind of Prisoner to *Sheriff-Hutton* Castle in our Neighbourhood, as a Place of great Strength and Security. It is said the Uncle intended to marry his Niece himself, to prevent any other from doing it. The Messenger made Use of by *Henry* on this important Occasion seems to be Sir *John Halewell*, mentioned in one of the Warrants, the secret Commission he was intrusted with pointing at no less. The Princess was conducted publicly up to *London*, and a numerous Suit of Nobility met and attended her. But there was another of Royal Blood in the same Castle, whom *Henry's* Jealousy would not allow such Pageantry to: This was no less a Person than *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of *Warwick*, only Son to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, the late King *Richard's* elder Brother, just then fifteen Years of Age. This Branch of a Royal Stock was born to be unhappy, if the Knowledge of his Birth-Right, which was industriously kept from him, as well as every Part of Education, had not made him thoughtless about it. To whose Care and Custody *Richard* had intrusted these two Particulars we know not; the Castle was then in Possession of the *Nevils*. This is another great Instance of the Trust he had in the Northern, rather than the Southern, Parts of the Kingdom. We are told that *Henry* dispatched away Sir *Robert Willoughby*, the Day after the Battle, to take the Prince from his Keepers, and convey him privately to the Tower of *London*. It was not long after that this innocent Youth shared the same Fate with his Cousins, *Edward V.* and his Brother, with this Difference only, that the former execrable Deed is said to have been acted in the Dead of the Night, and *Henry*, with as much Justice, caused his
Head

Head to be struck off in open Day-Light. In this Prince the Royal Line of the *Plantagenets* failed.

Monf. *Rapin de Thoyras*, an Historian apparently opposite to an Hereditary Title to the Crown of *England*, writes thus, however, of this unfortunate Prince: "A Prince, says he, who was the sole Relick of the Male Issue of *Edward III.* which had been so numerous, but was almost entirely destroyed by the late Civil Wars, last of the *Angwin* or *Plantagenet* Race, which had been in Possession of the Crown of *England*, from Father to Son, during the Space of 330 Years."

The Princess *Elizabeth* was presently married to *Henry*; but he always seemed to scorn the Title he had with her, and was the first King of *England* that chose rather to make his Claim to the Crown *de Facto* than *de Jure* *. It was three Years before he would have her crowned according to his Oath; and it is very true, says the great Lord *Verulam*, that *Henry* shewed himself no very indulgent Husband to the Lady *Elizabeth*, tho' she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful, and but then nineteen Years of Age. His Aversion to the House of *York*, continues that Author, was so predominant in him, that it found Place not only in his Wars and Councils, but in his Chamber, and even in his Bed.

We shall now conclude this Chapter, being a Series of 420 Years, and hasten to our Historical Annals in the Reigns of this *Henry* and his Successors.

Bacon's Henry VII.

A Continuation of the Historical Annals of the City, from the Union of the Houses of York and Lancaster, to the present Times.

HENRY VII. called the *English Solomon*, having mounted the Throne, (*An. 1486*) kept Possession of it all his Life, with Strength of Judgment and Policy, deserving in some Measure that high Title. However, the Partizans of the House of York could not bear that a Prince of the other Family should reign over them, notwithstanding the specious Title he drew from the Queen might very well serve to gild over his own. Several Commotions were raised, in which those that concerned *Lambert Symnel* and *Parkin Warbeck* were not inconsiderable, and gave him no small Trouble to compose. The Northern Counties, and especially the City of York, preserved their Respect to the Family which bore that Title, and seemed to watch all Opportunities to testify their Loyalty to it. In the second Year of his Reign, (*1488*) in a Progress Henry made into the North, in order to stop an Insurrection which was then just setting on Foot in this Country, he came to York, whither he had sent before him a great Multitude of unarmed Men, that he might rather seem to pacify than exasperate his Adversaries. This Piece of Policy had like to have proved fatal to him; for, says the History of *Croyland*, he had certainly been taken by them, whilst he was devoutly solemnizing St. George's Day in that City, had not the Earl of *Northumberland* been more prudent in coming to his Rescue. Henry seized upon some of the principal Movers of this Disturbance, and presently caused them to be hang'd upon a Gibbet at York: After which, adds our Authority, the King returned in Peace to the South. *

This Insurrection had been countenanced by the Lord *Lovel*, the two *Staffords* †, and afterwards headed by the Earl of *Lincoln*, who had landed with *Lambert Symnel* from *Ireland* with Forces, and caused him to be proclaimed by the Stile of King *Edward VI.* against *Henry VII.* This Sham-Monarch, soon after his Landing, sent a Letter to the Mayor, &c. of York, which,

with

* Hist. Croy. contin.

† Bacon's Henry VII.

with the Resolutions of the Magistracy upon it, is entered in one of their Registers as follows:

Copy of a Letter directed to the Mayor, &c. from the Lords of Lincoln, Lovel, et al. late landed in Froneys, in the Name of their King, calling himself King EDWARD the Sixth. Will. Todd, Mayor, 2 HENRY VII.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Mayor, his Brethren, and Commonalty of our City of York,

Trusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well.

AND for so much as we been comen within this our Realme, not only by God's Grace to attain our Right of the same, but also for the Reliefe and Weal of our said Realm; you and all other our true Subjects, which hath been gretely injured and oppressed in Default of nowne Ministration of good Rules and Justice, desire therefore, and in our right herty wise pray you; that in this Behalfe ye woll shew unto us your good Aides and Favours, and where we and such Power as we have brought with us by Meane of Travayle of the See, and upon the Land, beene gretely weryed and laboured, it woll like you that we may have Reliefe, and Ease of Logeing and Vitails within our Citie there, and soe to depart, and truly pay for that as we shall take; and in your so doing, ye shall doe Thing unto us of right acceptable Pleasure, and for the same find us your good and sovereign Lord at all Times hereafter, and of your Dispositions herein to ascertain us by this Bringer.

Yevene undre our Signet at *Masbam* the viii Day of June.

"The which Letter was immediately sent to the Earl of Northumberland for to see; and a Copy of the same was sent to Sir Richard Tunstall, and another delivered to Master Payne, to shew it to the King's Grace: And further what the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the City of York, assembled in the Counsel-Chamber within the Guildhall, departed from the Counsel, and commanded and was agreed, that every Warden should be in Harness and raise his Ward, and keep due Watch, that no Person should have Entry into the said City,

but such as be true Liege-men unto our Sovereign Lord the King, *Henry VII.* And the said Mayor incontinently by the Advice of his Brethren, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common-Counsel aforesaid, sent in Message unto the said Lords of *Lincoln* and *Lovel* three of the Chamberlains, giving them in Commandment to shew unto the said Lords, that my Lord the Mayor, my Masters his Brethren, Aldermen, the Sheriffs, Common-Counsel with the whole Commonality of the City of *York*, be finally determined; that he, whom the said Lords called their King, they, nor none of their Retinue or Company intending to approach this City, should have any Entry into the same, but to withstand them with their Bodies and Goods, if they would atteyne so to do."

Symnel and his Adherents came directly to *York*, after the King had left it, in Hopes to be powerfully reinforced in these Parts, not doing the City or Country any Harm, that their Mock-King might gain a greater Character, and seem tender of his Subjects Lives; but finding the Country not to come in as they expected, they went incontinent to meet the King, and fight him with the Numbers they had. What followed was the Battle of *Stoke*, where *Henry* got the Victory, and the counterfeit *Plantagenet*, taken Prisoner, was made a Turnspit in the Palace; in which Post he behaved himself so handsomely, that, after some Years, he was raised to be one of the King's Falconers.

In 1489 the Parliament had granted certain Subsidies to defray the Expence of an Army sent into *Britany*; this was to be levied by a Tax on Land through *England*, which was readily paid by all the Counties except *Yorkshire* and the Bishoprick of *Durham* *. The two last says Lord *Verulam*, openly and resolutely refused to pay it; not out of Necessity, but by reason of the old Humour of these Counties, where the Memory of King *Richard* was so strong, *That it laid like Lees in the Bottom of Men's Hearts, and if the Vessels were once stirred it would rise.* The Commissioners appointed for the gathering this Tax were amazed at this great Rub in their Way, and applied to the Earl of *Northumberland*

* *Blondie.*

for his Advice and Aid in this Affair: The Earl forthwith wrote to Court about it, and received Answer from the King, that, peremptorily, he would not abate one Penny; because, since it was a Tax granted by Parliament, if he did, it might encourage other Counties to hope for an Abatement; and he would never allow the People to disannul the Authority of a Parliament in which their Votes were included. Upon this Advice the Earl summoned all the Nobility and Gentry to York, and speaking to them in that imperious Language the King had sent him, the Words suiting his natural Disposition, it did not only irritate them to a great Degree, but imagining the Words to be as much the Earl's own as the King's, and that he had been the chief Adviser in laying this Tax, they rose and assailed his House, and slew him with many of his Servants*. The Sword thus drawn, they threw away the Scabbard, and chose for their Leader Sir John Egremont, whom Lord Bacon calls a factious Person, and one who had a long Time borne an ill Mind towards the King: To him they added a Fellow of mean Degree, called John a Chambre, who bore much Sway amongst the common People, and was a perfect *Boutefeu*. With these Commanders they entered into open Rebellion, giving out in flat Terms that they would march against King Henry, and fight for their Liberties and Properties.

When the King heard of this new Insurrection he seemed little troubled therewith, but sent Thomas Earl of Surry, whom he had not long before released out of the Tower and pardoned, with a competent Power against the Rebels. The Earl met and fought with the principal Band of them, defeated them, and took John a Chambre, their Ringleader, Prisoner, with several others. The rest fled to York, where, upon the General's Approach, they durst not stand a Siege, but ran out of the City, some one Way and some another. Egremont got into Flanders, where he was protected by Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, Sister to Edward IV. and Henry's

U 3

mortal

* This Earl was buried at Beverley, where he had a stately Monument, but now much defaced. The Destruction of this Earl soon after the Revolution in Favour of Henry, was, probably in Revenge for his deserting the House of York, who had restored him to those Honours forfeited by his Father at Towton.

mortal Enemy. *John a Chambre* was executed in great State at *York*; for he was hanged on a Gibbet raised a Stage higher than ordinary, in the Midst of a square Gallows, as a Traitor Paramount; and a Number of his Men, that were his chief Accompllices, were hanged upon the lower Story round about him. *

The King, though he made Use of the Earl of *Surrey* for a General, yet followed after, and, notwithstanding he heard of the Victory, came on as far as *York*, in order to pacify and settle that City and County; from whence he returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surrey*, his Lieutenant in these Northern Parts, and *Sir Richard Tunstall* his principal Commissioner to levy the Subsidy, of which he did not remit one Denier. †

This Strictness in *Henry* so damp't the Spirits of the Northern Malecontents, that, whatever they might think of his Title, they never more offered to disturb him; and even in the Rebellion occasioned by *Perkin Warbeck's* Claim, the Sham-Duke of *York*, our Chronicles make no Mention of any Insurrection in these Parts in his Favour.

We suppose them quiet, submissive, and very good Subjects during the rest of this King's Reign; and as a Testimony of the Loyalty of the City of *York*, we find, in our Records, an Account of the Reception of *Margaret*, *Henry's* eldest Daughter, into the City, in her Journey for *Scotland*, in order to consummate a Marriage, which had been solemnized by Proxy, betwixt this Princess and *James IV.* King of *Scotland*, some Time before in *London*, which we shall give in the original Words and Orthography. ‡

“ On *Saturday* the 14th of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1503, *Sir John Gylliot*, Merchant, Knight of the *Bath*, being then Lord Mayor of the City of *York*, and *John Ellis* and *Thomas Braikes*, Sheriffs, *Margaret* the King's eldest Daughter, and Wife of *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, came to *York*, accompanied with many Lords, Ladies, Knyghtes, and Esquyers, and Gentlemen, to the Number of five hundred Persons, being met by the Sheriffs in Crymsyn Gownes, attended by one hundred Persons on Horseback in one Clothing, and

* Lord Bacon. *Stowe's Chron.*

† Lord Bacon.

‡ From the City Register.

the Midst of Tadcaster Bridge, who, with humble Salutations, welcomed her Majesty into the Libertys of the said City, and so bare their white Wands before her until she came at Micklegate-Bar; and ther the Lord Mayor, cloathed in fine Crymsin Sattin engrayned, having a Collar of Gold of his Majestys Livery about his Neck, being on Horseback, his Saddle of fine Crymsin Velvet, and the Trappis of the same, with gilt Bullion; his Footmen apparelled in green Sattin, with the Armes of the City and his own Armes, accompanied with the Recorder and Aldermen in Scarlet together on Horseback, their Sables being covered with fine Cloath bordered with black Velvet; and their Trappis of the same with gilt Bullion, the Twenty-four in their red Gownes on Foot, with the Tradesmen and Commoners honestly cloathed, standing on the North-Side of the Bar, made low Obeysance unto her Grace, who with all her Company was most nobly and richly apparelled, and so came near unto her Chayr upon the Palfreys covered with Cloth of Gold, who causing the Palfreys to stand still, the Lord Mayor said, *Most noble and excellent Princess, I and my Brethren, with all the Commonality of this City, in our most heartiest wise, welcometh your noble Grace, with all those the other Nobles that attend upon you;* at which Words she inclined herself towards the Lord Mayor, and thanked him, his Brethren, and all the rest of the City; and then it was ordered by the Lord Treasurer that the Lord Mayor should ride next before her Chayr, betwixt two Serjeants at Armes, to bear the Mace to her Lodgings.

“On the Morrow, about Nine o’Clock in the Forenoon, the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Twenty-four, and Chamberlaynes, went into the Bishop’s Pallace, and ther presented her with a goodly standing Silver Piece with a Cover, well over-gilt, and an hundreth Angells of Gold in the same, amounting to the Summe of Eighty-three Poundes Six Shillings and Eightpence, for which she heartily thanked him, his Brethren, and all the Body of the City; and so went forward towards the Minster, the Lord Archbishop and other Bishops and Nobles going before her in Order, the Lord Mayor bearing the Mace betwixt two Serjeants at Armes next before her; and after Mass was done, returned back to
the

the Pallace to Dinner, the Lord Mayor bearing the Mace as aforesaid, untill she came to her Chamber, and ther took his Leave till *Monday Morning*.

“On *Monday Morning* about Twelve of the Clock her Grace took her Chayre to go on her Voyage that Night to *Newburgh*; and then every Science stood in Order from the Minster Gates to *Bootham Bar*, the Lord Mayor and his Brethren riding in like Order as they did at her coming, the Sheriffs bearing their Rods, rode forth at the said Bar before her untill they came at *Mawdlye Chappel*, and there the Lord Mayor making a long Oration, took his Leave; whereupon she heartily thanked his Lordship and the rest, and said, *My Lord Mayor, your Brethren, and all the whole City of York, I shall evermore endeavour to love you and this City all the Dayes of my Life.* And so departed on her Journey.”

The Ceremonial of attending this Lady in her Progress, and her Reception into the City of *York*, is better recorded by a then Officer at Arms, from whose original Record the following is transcribed.

“The fifteenth Day of the said Monneth departed the Quene fro *Pountfret* in faire Company, as others Times before, the Mayr, Aldermen, Bourges, and Habitanns in the conveying of her, and from thens she went to Dynner to *Dadcaster*.

“And att the partyng after Dynner, cam to hyr my Lord *Latymer* and my Lady his Wiffe, vary well appoynted, companyed of many Gentylnen and Gentylnwomen, to the Nombre of L. Horses, hys Folk arayed Liveray.

“And out of the said *Dadcaster* cam the two Shriifs of the City of *Yorke*, wellcommying the Quene in ther Fraunchyses, in Company of many Officers of the Towne and oth Bourges and Habitanns, well honestly apoynted and horst, to the Nombre of *iiii^{xx}* Horsys. And two Mille fro *Dadcaster* cam to her the Lord *Scroupp*, of *Bolton*, and the Lord *Scroupp*, of *Upsall*, his Sone, in Company of many Gentylnen well appoyntyed, and ther Folke in suchwise to the Nombre of *xx*. Horsys of ther Liverays, and well Horsys.

“And fore Mille from the sayd Towne met the sayd Quene the Lady *Conyars* nobly drest, and in hyr Company

pany many Gentyllwomen, and others honnestly ap-
poynted, to the Nombre of 60. Horsys.

" At two Mille fro the sayd Cite cam toward the said
Quene, my Lord the Earle of *Northumberland* well horst
upon a fayr Corser, with a forr Cloth to the Grounde
of Cramsyn Velvett, all borded of Orfavery, his Armes
vary rich in many Places uppon his Saddle and Har-
nays, his Sterrops gylt.

" Hymselfe arayed of a Gowne of the said Cramsyn,
the Opnyngs of the Slyves and the Collar of grett Bor-
deux of Stones; hys Boutts of Velvet black; his Spours
gylt in many Places maid Gambads plaissants for to see;
ny to him two Fotemen ther Jackets of that sam as be-
fore to hys Devyses; and before him hee had 3 Hun-
men mounted upon fayr Horsys, ther short Jackets of
Orfavery, and Harnays of the said Horsys of that same
rychly drest; and after them rode the Maister of hys
Horse, arayed of hys Liveray of Velvyt, monted up-
on a gentyl Horse, and Campanes of Silver and gylt,
and held in his Haund annother fayr Corser of all
Thyngs, his Harnays apoynted as before is said.

" Wyth hym in hys Company was many noble
Knyghts; that is to weytt, Sur *John Haystynge*, Sur *John*
Penynthorpe, Sur *Lancelot Thirlefeld*, Sur *Thomas Curwen*,
Sur *John Normanville*, Sur *Robert of Aske*, all Knyghts,
arayed of hys sayd Liveray of Velvet with some Gold-
smyth Wark; grett Chaynnes and war well mounted,
some of ther Horse Harnes full of Campanes, sum of
Gold and Sylver, and the others of Sylver.

" Also ther was hys Officer of Armes, named *Northumberland-Herault*, aray'd of his sayd Liveray of Vel-
vet, berring hys Cotte sens the Mettyng tyll to hys de-
partying thorough all the Entryng and Yssue of good
Towns and Citez.

" Also others Gentylmen in such wys aray'd of hys
said Liveray, sum in Velvet, others in Damaske and
Chamlett, the others of Cloth, well monted, to the
Nombre of three hundreth Horsys.

" And a Mylle owte of the said Cite the said Quene
apoynted hyr in hyr Horse-Letere rychly besene, hyr
Ladys and Gentelwomen right freshly aray'd.

" Also all the Nobles, Lordes, Knyghts, Gentyl-
men, and others of her Company apoynted in so good
Manere

Manere and so ryche, that a goodly Sight it was for to beholde.

“ And at the Entryng of the Soubarbes was the *iiii.* Orders *Mendiens* in Processyon before hyr.

“ And in the Stat as before, in fayr Order she entred in the sayd Cyte, Trompetts, Mynstrells, Sakebowitts, and high Wods retentyfyng that was fayr for here Cottis of Armes open, ryches Masses in Haund, Horsys of Desyr, and noble Herts delibered.

“ And within the sayd Cite, ny to the Gatt, was my Lord the Mayr Syr *John Guillot*, Knyght, compenyd of the Aldermen all on Horseback, and honnestly arayed in Gownys of Scarlatte, the sayd Mayr of Sattin Cram-syn, goods Channes on ther Necks, and resayved the said Quene varey mykely, and after they rode before hyr to the Mother Church, the sayd Mayr beryng hyr Masse.

“ And ny to them wer within the Streytts on Fowte and in good Order, the honnests Bourges and Habitanns of the sayd Cite honnestly besene in ther best Aray, all the Wyndowes so full of Nobles, Ladyes, Gentywomen, Damsells, Bourgesys, and others in so grett Multitude, that it was a fayr Sight for to see.

“ Thus continued the Space of too Houres or she wer conveyed to the Mother Church, wher was the Reverends Fathers in God my Lord the Archbyschop of *Yorke*, the Byfchop of *Durham*, the Abbot Saunt *Marie*, and the Souffringhan in Pontificall, with the College togeder revested of riches Coppes; and ny to the Founte was notably appynted the Place wher the Crosse was, the wich shee kissed, and after to the Hert of the Church she wente to make hyr Offrynge.

“ And that doon she was conveyd thorough the said Company to the Pallays wher she was lodged, and so every Men hym owtidrew to hys Lodgyngs them to refresh; bot it was grett Melodie for to here the Bells ryng thorough the Citie.

“ And the next Day, that was the *Sunday* the xvth. Day of the said Monneth, remayn'd the said Quene in the said Towne of *Yorke*, and at Ten of the Clock she was convey'd to the Church with the said Archbyschop, Byfchops of *Durham*, *Marrey*, and *Norwysche*, the Prelats before, and others honorable Folks of the Church,

my Lord of *Surrey*, the Lord hyr Chamberlayn, and others Nobles, Knyghts, Squires, Gentylnen, the said Mayre, Aldermen, and Scheryffs, to the Nombre of two Hundreth and more. With hyr wer Ladys and Gentylwomen of hyr Company, and Straungers to the Nombre of xl. and so was she convey'd to the Church. It was a fair Syght for to see the Company so rychly apoynted.

" Thus Noble she was convey'd into her Travers, wher befor her was an Auter drest of many ryches and noble Jewels, and an hygh Awter in likewyse; and hard Masse in meane Time that the said Archbyschop maid hymselfe redy.

" After the said Masse begonne the Processyon generall varey fayr, wher was fyrst the Crosseys and the Colleges vested of varey rych Copys; and after them came the Souffringhan Subdyacon, the Abbot of Saunte *Marys* Dyacon; the Crosse borne before the Archbyschop, with hym the Byschop of *Durham*, all in Pontificall.

" After them cam the Lords that followeth rychly apoynted, the Lord *Willeby*, Lord *Scroupp*, and hys Son the Lord *Latimer*, the Lord *Hastyns*, Therle of *Kent*, and hys Son Lord *Straunge*, Therle of *Northumberland*, the Byschop of *Morrey* and of *Norwyche*, the Lord Mair, Therle of *Surrey*, the Lord Chamberlain, the Officers of Armes, and the Sergents.

" And after cam the Quene rychly aray'd in a Gowne of Cloth of Gold, a rych Coller of precyous Stones, and a Gyrdle wrought of fin Gold haunting doo to the Gerth, and the Countesse of *Surrey* bare her Trayne; a Gentleman Huyscher helping after hyr the Ladys and Gentylwomen as before, varey rychly drest in goodly Gownys, gretts Collers, gretts Chaynnes, Gyrdles of Gold, and others Richeffes.

" And after hyr followed the Nobles, Knyghts, Gentylnen, and Squires in fayr Aray, honnestly apoynted, having grett Chaynnes upon them; and the said Church was so full of honneste Personnes, Ladyes, and Gentylwomen of the said Towe, and many other People in so grett Nombre, that impossible schould be for to be nombred; but so good Ordre there was, that none crye Noise was maid.

" The

“ The Erle of *Northumberland* was arrayed in a varey ryche Gowne of Cloth of Gold, hys thre Gentylnen of Honor, drest with longs Jackets full of Orfavery, varey rychly wrought with his Devyses, like wys hys Folks.

“ After the Proceffyon doon, begonne the hygh Masse by the said Archbyschop, the which was stalled as the Custome is to do in Company of hym the said Abbot and Souffiringhan, with others honnorable Personnes of the Church, and sange the Servyce of the said Masse, the Chappelle of my said Lord of *Northumberland* much solempnely.

“ And at the Hour of the Offertory was the said Quene brought to the Offrynge in the Presence of the said Prelates, Lords, and others Knyghts, Squyers, and Gentylnen, &c. whome sche offred the retourned ageyn, eidy Man went ageyn in hys Place as before, and to hyr gaffe hyr Offryng the said Erle of *Surrey*.

“ The Masse doon, the Quene was, by the said Company precedente in fayr Aray and Ordre, brought agaya to the Pallays, and within the grett Chammer was presented before hyr my Lady the Countesse of *Northumberland*, well accompany'd of many Knyghts and Gentylnen, and Ladyes and Gentylwomen, the Quene kissing hyr in the welcommynge; and as soon as sche was com in hyr Chammer she begonne to dynne, Trompetts and other Instruements rang to the auncyenne Manere lastyng the said Dynner.

“ The said Archbyschop holdyng open Hows in makyng good Cher to all commyng togeder, my Lord the Mayr the Scheryffs so, as raporte to me them that was ther Persons.

“ The xviith Day of the said Monneth the said Quene departed fro the said Cite of *York* in varey fayr Company and Ordre, rychly apoynted, the said Archbyschop and Byschops beforefaid, the Lord the Mair, Scheryff, and the Aldermen, the Streytts and the Wyndows so full of People that it was a fair Thyng for to see.

“ And without the said Cite the said Lord Mayre and his Company take Licence, and furthermore dyd the Lords the Byschop of *Norwych*, of *Kent*, of *Straunge*, *Hastynge*, and *Willeby*, and many others mor Knyghts Gentylnen went with them ageyn.

“ And

"And after this doon, she took hyr Way to New-
burgh the Priore, to the which Place she was receyved
by the said Prior and Religyous, honnestly revested with
the Crosse, at the Gatt of the Church."

Henry VII. died, Anno 1509, without any more Oc-
currences to furnish our Annals with. He was succeeded
by his only Son Henry, who was crowned King of Eng-
land at Westminster, at the Age of sixteen Years, by the
Title of Henry VIII.

September 9, 1513, was fought the famous Battle of
Flodden, in which James the Fourth of Scotland, King
Henry's Brother-in-Law, was killed, and his Army en-
tirely routed. The Earl of Surry commanded the Eng-
lish Army, being Lord Lieutenant of the North, in
Henry's Absence, who was then at the Siege of Tournay,
in French Flanders. The Earl had drawn 26,000 Men
together to oppose the Scots, 500 of whom were raised
in the City and Ainsty by the Lord Lieutenant's War-
rant for that Purpose. The Body of the Scotch King,
slain in that Fight, was brought to York, exposed to pub-
lic View, and kept there by the Earl till the King's Re-
turn from France, and then carried and presented to him
at Richmond.

Many Years now passed without any Materials for
our History; but about 27 Henry VIII. the Suppression
of the lesser Monasteries and the Innovations in Religion
caused several Insurrections and Commotions in England,
especially in the Northern Parts; amongst which a Con-
spiracy was carried on by Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, Esq;
Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer and his Wife,
Sir Thomas Piercy, Brother to the Earl of Northumber-
land, Sir Stephen Hamerton, Nicholas Tempest and William
Lumley, Esqrs. These Men, at the Head of 40,000
Priests, Peasants, and Labourers, declared by their Pro-
clamation, solemnly made, that this their Rising and
Commotion should extend no farther than only to the
Maintenance and Defence of the Faith of Christ, and
Deliverance of Holy Church, sore decayed and oppress'd;
and also for the Furtherance as well of private as public
Matters in the Realm, in regard to the Welfare of the
King's poor Subjects*.

VOL. I.

X

This

* Hollinghead's Chron.

This Insurrection was styled, by the Ringleaders of it, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*; and under that specious Pretence they kept together some Time, and committed several Outrages. The King sent an Army against them, with a Proclamation for a general Pardon, which had the good Effect to disperse the Crowd, and the Heads of the Revolters were taken; most of whom, with the Abbots of *Fountains*, *Jervaux*, and *Rivaulx*, and the Prior of *Burlington*, were executed at Tyburn. Sir Robert Constable was hung in Chains over *Beverley-Gate* at *Hull*; and Robert Ask, who was the principal of them all, had the same Suspension on a Tower, probably *Clifford's Tower*, at *York*, Anno 1537.

Several Insurrections succeeded this in the North: It seems they took the Change in Religion much worse than in the Southern Parts of the Kingdom, and made several smart Struggles against it.

The King intending also the Suppression of the greater Monasteries, which he effected in the 31st of his Reign, for the preventing of future Dangers, and keeping those Northern Counties in Quiet, raised a President and Council at *York*, and gave them two several Powers and Authorities, under one great Seal, of Oyer and Terminer, &c. within the Counties of *York*, *Durham*, *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, and *Cumberland*, the City of *York* and County of the same, the City of *Carlisle*, the Town and County of *Kingston upon Hull*, *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and *Berwick upon Tweed*; which Court was continued till the Troubles of the King and Nation, in the Time of *Charles I.*

The Officers of the Court consisted of

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Lord President. | 9. One Clerk of the Attachments. |
| 2. The Vice President. | 10. Two Clerks of the Seal. |
| 3. Four or more learned Counsel. | 11. One Clerk of the Tickets. |
| 4. The Secretary. | 12. One Serjeant at Arms. |
| 5. The King's Attorney. | 13. One Pursuivant. |
| 6. Two Examiners. | 14. Ten Collectors of Fines. |
| 7. One Register. | 15. Two Tipstaves. |
| 8. Fourteen Attorneys. | |

All being at length pretty quiet, the King thought it Policy to go a Progress amongst them, and receive their Submission in Person,

In the Month of *August* *, *Anno* 1541, King *Henry* began his Progress to the City of *York*, where, for a Rebellion this very Year, Sir *John Nevil*, Knight, and ten Persons more, were taken and executed.

The King passed through *Lincolnshire*, where humble Submission was made to him by the Temporality, confessing their Faults, and thanking him for his Pardon. The Town of *Stamford* presented him with 20 *l.* the City of *Lincoln* with 40 *l.* and the Town of *Boston* with 50 *l.* That Part of the County called *Lindsey* gave 300 *l.* and *Epworth*, with the Church at *Lincoln*, 50 *l.* more.

At his Entrance into *Yorkshire* he was met by 200 Gentlemen of that County, in Velvet Coats and suitable Accoutrements, with 4000 tall Yeomen and Servants, well horsed. These, on their Knees, made Submission to his Majesty by the Mouth of Sir *Robert Bowes*, and presented him with 900 *l.*

On *Barnsdale* the Archbishop of *York*, with upwards of 300 of his Clergy, met the King, and, making a like Submission, gave him 600 *l.* From thence this great King, gallantly attended, came to the City of *York*, where he was received with as much Magnificence as the City's present Condition could shew. All due Submission being made, the Lord Mayor presented his Majesty with 100 *l.* as did also the Mayors of *Newcastle* and *Hull*, who came to *York* to meet him.

It was at this Time and in this City, says *Speed*, that *Henry* had proposed a Meeting betwixt the King of *Scots* and him, in order to settle a firm Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms; which Meeting, though at first agreed to, was afterwards withstood by the *Scotch* Nobility, who were doubtful of *Henry's* Sincerity. He staid in *York* twelve Days, from thence he went to *Hull*, and so crossing the *Humber*, returned through *Lincolnshire* into the South.

Anno 1546 died *Henry VIII.* with the terrible Character of neither sparing Man in his Anger, nor Woman in his Lust, throughout his whole Reign. His only Son succeeded him by the Name of *Edward VI.* being then just nine Years old.

In the second Year of this King's Reign, *Anno* 1548, a small Insurrection began in these Parts †, at *Seamer*,

X 2

near

* *Hollinghead, Stow, &c.*

† *Stowe's Chron.*

near *Scarborough*. The principal Raisers of this Sedition were very inconsiderable Fellows to have their Names recorded in History, being *William Ambler* of *East-Hellerton*, Yeoman; *Thomas Dale*, Parish Clerk of *Seamer*, and one *Stevenson* of the same Town, who rose upon the old Topick of reforming Abuses crept into Religion, and in the Night set the Beacon on Fire at *Staxton*, and so gathered together a rude Rout to the Number of 3000. A Party of this Rabble went to Mr. *White's* House, and took him, and *Clapton* his Wife's Brother, one *Savage* a Merchant of *York*, and *Berry*, a Servant to Sir *Walter Mildmay*, out of their Beds, carried them upon the Wold near *Seamer*, there murdered them, and left their Bodies quite naked for the Crows to feed upon. The Lord President sent out a Detachment against them from *York*, and a general Pardon to all that would immediately submit, upon which most of them dispersed; but *Ambler* and the above-named Rebels refused the Mercy; however, they were soon taken, brought to *York*, and executed September 21, 1549, along with six others, but Stirrers in this Sedition.

On the 15th of *April*, 1551, began that terrible contagious Distemper the Sweating Sickness in *England*; a Disease never heard of before nor since in the whole World. To be a little particular in the Account of this strange Contagion, the Effects of which were severely felt in our City, and because it may very well serve to fill up a large Gap in our Annals, we presume may not be unacceptable to the Reader.

This Plague first shewed itself at *Shrewsbury* †, in *April* aforesaid, but had not ceased in the North of *England* till the End of *September* following. It broke out in *London* in *July*, and was so violent that in the very first Week it swept off 800 Persons; People in the best State of Health, as indeed is usual in other Contagions, were the most liable to be seized by it; and at first was certain Death to them in twenty-four Hours Time. This sudden and severe Attack so terrified People of all Sorts, that those who could any ways afford it left the Kingdom: But, what is almost incredible, the Contagion

* Supposed to be *Richard Savage*, who was Sheriff of *Tork* in 1540.

† *Hollingshead*. *Stowe*.

Contagion followed them, and them only; for at *Antwerp* and several other Towns in *Flanders*, where the *English* had retired to, and were mixed with divers other Nations, not one but they were infected with it. The Manner of its first seizing a Person was with a sudden Chills, then succeeded a violent Sweat; and upon the Admission of the least Cold, immediately the Chills returned, and Death. Sleep at first was mortal in it, for they usually swooned away, or else died upon waking, if they slept but half a Quarter of an Hour. *Stowe* instances the quick Fatality of this Disease by seven Householders, who all supped chearfully together over Night, but before Eight the next Morning six of them were dead; few that were taken with full Stomachs escaped. No physical Regimen did any Service, except keeping moderately close, with some Air and a little warm Liquor, as Poffet-Drink, or the like, for thirty Hours together, and then the Danger was past; if the Person did not go too suddenly into the Cold. This Disease, says *Hollingshead*, going clear through the Kingdom, and affecting none but our Natives abroad, made the Nation begin to repent and give Alms, and remember God, from whom that Plague might well seem to be sent; but as the Contagion in Time ceased, so our Devotion soon after decayed. How many died in this City of this strange Distemper is not remarked; but we are told, in *Mr. Hildyard's* Collections, that this Year there was a great Plague in *York*.

The young King *Edward* was taken ill of a violent Cold in *January*, which ended in a Consumption, whereof he died on the 6th of *July* following, in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and in the seventh Year of his Reign. He was succeeded (1553) by

Mary, the eldest Daughter of King *Henry VIII.* by *Catherine of Spain*. In the short Reign of this Queen we have nothing to our Purpose to be inserted here. Our Historians have shewn her a Woman of a bloody and cruel Disposition, but our City bears no Manner of Testimony of it; for not one Execution, either for Treason or Religion, was performed in it during her Administration; at least the copious *Mr. Fox* is silent as to any such Matter.

Anno 1556, says *Stowe*, an Ambassador from the high and mighty *Evan Vasiliwisch*, Emperor of all *Russia*, by Name *Osep Napea*, was sent to the famous and excellent Princes *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, with Presents, in order to establish a Commerce betwixt the two Nations. It seems the Ambassador's Ship being driven from the rest by Stress of Weather was tossed upon the Seas four Months, and at length shipwrecked on the Coast of *Scotland*; his *Russian* Excellency and some few others only saved. As soon as it was known in *London* that the Ambassador was in Safety the Merchants procured Letters from Queen *Mary* to the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, for his kind Entertainment there, and safe Conduct up to *London*. In his Journey from North to South he came to *York*, where he must have been a strange Sight, being the first of his Country ever seen in *England*.

Queen *Mary* died (*Anno 1558*) and was succeeded by *Elizabeth*, another Daughter of King *Henry* by *Anna Bullein*.

In 1569 a bold Conspiracy was set on Foot by *Thomas Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and others, against the Queen*. The Rebellion began in the North, and was afterwards strengthened by the coming in of *Charles Neville*, Earl of *Westmoreland*, and others. Their Design was to have seized the Earl of *Sussex*, the Queen's Lieutenant of the North, at the House he then lived in, we suppose the Archbishop's Palace in *Carwood*; but being prevented, the Affair was let drop to another Opportunity. Soon after the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Design being known at Court, he was sent for by special Messengers to appear there: These had well nigh surprized him in his Bed at his Manor of *Topcliff*, but by a Stratagem he escaped. After this the two Earls threw off all Disguise, raised Forces, and published their Intentions, which were no less than to restore the Catholick Religion, and to advance *Mary Queen of Scots* to the *English* Throne. In the Heat of this Zeal they hastened to *Durham* with their Army, and forthwith went to the Cathedral, where they tore and destroyed all the Bibles, Communion-Books, &c. that they could meet with. The same Night they marched to *Branspeth*, the next

Day

Day to *Darlington*; where, says *Hollingshead*, a Contemporary and bitter Enemy to them, they lewdly heard Mass, and besprinkled all their Army with Holy Water. Their Forces increasing, they marched from thence to *Richmond*, then to *Ripon*, where they again had Mass said in the Cathedral. It was here, to give the greater Sanction to their Cause, that they had a Cross with a Banner, painted with the five Wounds of our Saviour, borne before them: Their Standard-Bearer was one *Richard Norton*, whom *Speed* and *Hollingshead* call *Old Norton*. The same Night they marched on to *Boroughbridge*, and the next Day to *Wetherby*; on which Day at Night a Party of them entered *Tadcaster*, and took 200 Footmen, chasing their Leaders who were conducting them to the Earl of *Suffex* at *York*. The Day following the Rebels mustered on *Clifford-Moor*, where their Numbers amounted to 1600 Horse and 4000 Foot. With these Forces their Intention was to march directly to besiege *York*; but judging themselves yet too weak, they altered their Rout, and retired back into the Bishoprick of *Durham*, in order to lay Siege to *Barnard-Castle*. This Castle, though fiercely assailed, was valiantly defended against their whole Army for the Space of eleven Days, by *Sir George Bowes* and *Robert Bowes* his Brother. Being greatly distressed, *Sir George* capitulated, and delivered the Castle to them on Composition, to march out with Bag and Baggage, Armour, Munition, &c. which he and his Garrison forthwith did towards *York*.

At this City the Earl of *Suffex* was drawing Forces together in order to quash this Rebellion; and having raised 5000 effective Men, the Lord Lieutenant, accompanied by the Earl of *Rutland* his Lieutenant, the Lord *Hunsden* General of the Horse, *William Lord Evers*, who had the Command of the Rear, and *Sir Ralph Sadler*, Treasurer, all marched from *York*, on Sunday, December 11, in order to fight the Rebels. On the 12th they halted at *Sessay*, and *Sir George Bowes*, from *Barnard-Castle*, meeting them, the Lord President made him Marshal of the Army. From hence they marched to *Northallerton*, *Smeaton*, *Croft-Bridge*, and so on to *Aukland*; whereupon the Rebels thought fit to retire to *Hexham*. Their Stay there was not long; for upon a Report that the Queen had another great Army marching

ing towards them under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick* and Lord *Clinton*, the two Earls, their Generals, found it was dangerous to stay, and therefore fled into *Scotland*, leaving their miserable Army to shift for themselves; who, being thus deserted by their Leaders, fled several Ways, but were mostly killed or taken by the Queen's Army and the Country People. Of those that were taken were executed at *Darham* to the Number of sixty-six, Constables and such Fellows; for we find none of any Note here except an Aldermen, named *Struther*, and a Priest called *Parson Plumtree*. Sir *George Bowes* had it now in his Power to glut his Revenge, which he did to the Purpose: *Stowe* says he had it from himself, that he caused some of them to be executed in every Market-Town, and every public Place, from *Newcastle* to *Wetherby*, a Country sixty computed Miles long and forty broad, which must needs destroy great Numbers of these Wretches.

On Good-Friday, March 27, 1570, *Simon Digby*, of *Askeu*, *John Fulborpe*, of *Iselbeck*, in this County, Esqrs. *Robert Pennyman*, of *Stoxley*, *Thomas Bishop*, the younger, of *Pocklington*, Gentlemen, were drawn from the Castle of *York* to the Place of Execution, called *Knave'smire*, and there hanged, beheaded, and quartered: Their four Heads were set up on the four principal Gates of the City, with four of their Quarters; the other Quarters were set up in divers Places in the County.

The two Earls being fled into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Westmoreland* found Means soon after to get into *Flanders*, where, according to *Speed's* charitable Insinuation, he died miserably eaten up with the Pox. The other unfortunate Nobleman, having been forced to live sculking some Time amongst the robbing Borderers, was at length found out and betrayed by a Person he had very much obliged in like Circumstances, the Earl of *Moreton**, then Vice-Roy of *Scotland*, who delivered him to the Lord *Hunsden*, Governor of *Berwick*; and being brought to *York*, having been before attainted by Parliament, he was on the 22d of *August*, 1572, beheaded on a Scaffold set up for that Purpose in the
Parvement;

* This was, says *Dugdale*, in order to curry Favour with *Elizabeth*, that she might deliver to him *Mary Queen of Scots*, then Prisoner in *England*. *Dug. Bar.*

Pavement; his Head was set on a high Pole on *Mickle-gate-Bar*, where it continued for two Years, but was afterwards stolen from thence; his Body was buried in *Cruix Church* by two of his Servants, where it now lies without any Memorial. He died, says *Speed*, avowing the *Pope's Supremacy*, denying *Subjection to the Queen*, affirming the *Land to be in a Schism*, and her obedient Subjects no better than *Hereticks*.

Immediately upon *Queen Elizabeth's Demise*, which happened on the 22d of *March*, 1602, *James VI.* King of *Scotland*, Son to the late *Queen Mary* of that Kingdom, and Grandson to that Princess whom we received with so much Honour and Respect in this City some Years before, was proclaimed King of *England, &c.* in *London*. But notwithstanding the speedy and public Notice given of the *Queen's Death*, together with the Proclamation of the immediate and undoubted lawful Successor to the *English Crown and Kingdom*, says the Continuator of *Stowe's Annals*, yet the News of it did not reach the City of *York* (only computed 150 Miles distant) until *Sunday, March 27*; neither, adds he, did the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *York* give full Credit to the Report then, though they had received it from the Lord *Burleigh*, then Lord President of the Council in the North, and Lord Lieutenant of *Yorkshire*. *Robert Water*, Lord Mayor of *York*, with the Aldermen his Brethren, had prepared themselves to have made Proclamation in their chief Market-Place of the Death of the Queen, and the present Right of King *James* to the Succession, that *Sunday Morning*; yet such was their Doubt of the Truth of the Report, that they stopped Proceedings till they had sent the Recorder with *Thomas Herbert* and *Robert Askewith*, Aldermen, to the Lord President, to know what Certainty his Lordship had of it: The Lord President answered them, that he had no other Intelligence but only from a secret Friend at Court, whom he believed. But whilst they were thus in the House of the Lord President, a Gentleman of his own arrived with a Packet of Letters from the Nobility and Privy-Counsellors, declaring the *Queen's Death*, and the Proclamation of the King by them and the Lord Mayor of *London*. Then instantly the Lord Mayor of *York* and his Brethren, having received the Proclamation in Print, proclaimed

proclaimed the King of Scots their true and lawful King: that is to say, JAMES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender, &c. in all the public Places of the City, with all Duty, Love, Integrity, and joyful Acclamations.

Mr. *Edmund Howes*, the Continuator of *Stowe's* History, seems, by the Particularity of this Affair, which we have taken from him, to have been either a Native or an Inhabitant of this City, or one, at least, that paid a great Regard to the Affairs of it. The Reader will the more readily come into this Conjecture, when he sees the Account this Author gives of King *James's* Reception into *York*, in his first Progress from *Edinburgh* to *London*, which we shall beg Leave to give in his own Words.

"On the 15th of *April*, 1603, his Majesty set forwards from *Durham* towards *Yorke*, his Train still increasing by the Numbers of Gentlemen from the South Parts, that came to offer him Fealty; whose Love although he greatly tendered, yet did their Multitudes so oppress the Country, and made Provision so dear, that he was fain to publish an Inhibition against the inordinate and daily Access of the People coming, that many were stopped in their Way.

"The High Sheriffe of *Yorkshire*, very well accompanied, attended his Majesty to Master *Inglebyes* beside *Topcliffe*, being about sixteen Miles from *Walworth*, where the King had lain the Night before, who with all Joy and Humility received his Majesty, and he rested there that Night.

"The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Yorke*, upon certayne Knowledge of the King's Journey into *England*, with all Diligence consulted what was fittest to be done for the receiving, and entertayning so mighty and gracious a Soveraygne, as well within the City as at the outmost Bounds thereof; as also what further Service or duteous Respect they ought to shew his Majesty upon so good and memorable Occasion as now was offered unto them; and thereupon they sent *Robert Askwith*, Alderman, unto *Newcastle*, and there, in the Behalfe of the Lord Mayor and Citizens of *Yorke*, to make Tender of their zealous Love and Dutie, for the which his Majesty gave them heartie Thankes.

"And

" And uppon Saturday the 16th of April, *John Roddes* and *George Buck*, Sheriffes of *Yorke*, with their white Roddes, being accompanied with an hundreth Citizens, and threescore other Esquiers, Gentlemen, and others, the most substantial Persons, being all well mounted, they received the King at the East End of *Mill Bridge*, which was the utmost Boundes of the Liberties of the Cittie of *Yorke*; and there kneeling, the Sheriffs delivered their white Roddes unto the King, with Acknowledgment of their Love and Allegiance unto his Majestie, for the which the King, with cheerfull Countenance, thanked them, and gave them their Roddes agayne; the which they carried all the Way upright in their Handes, ryding all the Way next before the Serjeants at Armes.

" And before the King came to the Cittie, his Majesty had sent *Syr Thomas Challenor* to the Lord Major and Aldermen, to knowe who formerlie had borne the Sworde before the Kinges of *England* at their coming to *Yorke*, and to whome of Right that Office for that Tyme appertayned, because it had been anciently performed by the Earles of *Cumberland*, as hereditary to that House, but was now chalenged by the Lord President of the North for the Time being, as proper to his Place: But uppon due Search and Examination it was agreed, that the Honor to bear the Sworde before the King in *Yorke* belonged unto *George Earl of Cumberland*, who all the while the King was in *Yorke* bare the Sworde, for so the King willed, and for that Purpose sent *Syr Thomas Challenor* agayne to the Lord Major, and the Lord Major gave the great Mace of the Cittie, going alwayes on the Left Hand of the Earle.

" And when the King came to the Cittie, which was well prepared to give his Highness and his Royal Trayne Entertainment, then the Lord Major, with the twelve Aldermen in their Scarlet Robes, and the Foure-and-twenty in Crimofin Gownes, accompanied with many others of the gravest Menne, met the King at *Micklegate* Bar, his Majesty going betweene the Duke of *Lincolne* and Lord *Hume*; and when the King came near to the scaffold where the Lord Major, with the Recorder, the twelve Aldermen, and the Foure-and-twentie, all kneeling, the Lord Major said, *Most high and mightie Prince,*

I and my Brethren do most heartilie wellcome your Majestie to your Highness Cittie, and in Token of our Duties, I deliver unto your Majestie all my Authoritie of this your Highness Cittie, and then rose uppe and kissed the Sworde and delivered it into the Kinges Hand, and the King gave it to the Duke of Lincolne, who, according to the Kinges Appoyntment, delivered it unto the Earle of Cumberland to beare it before his Majestie.

“ The Lord Major also delivered up the Keyes of the Cittie, which the Lord *Hume* received and carried them to the Manor: And when the Recorder had ended his grave Oration in Behalfe of the Cittie, then the Lord Major, as the King commanded, tooke Horse and bare the Cittie Mace, ryding on the Left Hande of the Earle of Cumberland, who bare the Sworde of the Cittie, and attended his Majestie to *St. Peter's Church*, and was there royally received by the Deanes, Prebends, and the whole Quyer of Singing Menne of that Cathedral Church in their richest Coapes: At the Entrance into the Church the Deane made a learned Oration in *Latine*, which ended, the King ascended the Quyer: The Canapa was supported by six Lords, and was placed in a Throne prepared for his Majestie; and during Divine Service there came three Sergeantes at Armes with their Maces pressing to stand by the Throne, but the Earle of Cumberland put them downe, saying, that Place for the Tyme belonged to him and the Lord Major, and not to them.

“ Divine Service being ended, the King returned in the same Royal Manner he came; the Canapa being carried over him unto the Mannor of *St. Maryes*, where the Lord *Burleigh* and Councel gave their Attendance and received his Majestie, where Doctor *Bennet* having ended his eloquent Oration, the King went into his Chamber, the Sworde and Mace being there borne by the Earle and Lord Major, who left the Sworde and Mace there that Night, and when the Lord Major was departed, the Lord *Hume* delivered him agayne the Keyes of the Cittie.

“ The next Day, being *Sunday* the 17th of *April*, 1600 the Lord Major, with the Recorder, the Aldermen and Sheriffes, and the Twentie-foure with all their chiefe Officers, and the Preacher of the Cittie and Towne Cler

in very comely Order went unto the Manor; of whome, so soon as the King hadde Knowledge of their comming, willed that so many of them as the Roome would permitte should come into the Privie Chamber, where the Lord Major presented his Majestie with a fayr Cuppe, with a Cover of Silver and gilt, weighing seventie and three Ounces, and in the same two hundreth Angells of Golde; and the Lord Major sayde, *Most high and mightie Prince, I and my Brethren, and all the whole Communitie of this your Highnesse Citie, present unto your most excellent Majestie this Cuppe and Golde, in Token of the dutifull Affection wee beare your Highnesse in our Heartes, most humbly beseeching your Highnesse favourable Acceptance thereof, and your most gracious Favour to this your Highnesse Citie of Yorke; the which his Majestie gratefully accepted, and saide unto them, God will bless you the better for your Good-will towards your King.* The Lord Major humbly besought the King to dine with him upon the next *Tuesdai*; the King answered, he should ride thence before that Tyme, but he would break his Fast with him in the next Morning.

"This *Sundai* the King went to the Minster and heard a Sermon made by the Dean *, who was Byshoppe of Limericke, in Ireland, the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Sheriffes, and Foure-and-twenty attended upon the King, the Earl still bearing the Sword, the Lord Major the Mace, and the Sheriffs bearing up their Roddes, as well within the Church as in the Streets, marching before the King unto the Mannor; the next Day being *Mondaie*, at Nine a Clock the Lord Major come to the Mannor, being accompanied and attended by the Recorder, the Aldermen, and Foure-and-twenty, and others, and attended there; and at Tenne of the Clock the King, with his Royal Trainee, went to the Lord Major's House and there dined; after Dinner the King walked to the Deanes House, and was there entertained with a Banquette; at the Deanerie the King took Horse and passed through the Cittie forth at *Micklegate* towards *Grimstone*, the House of Sir *Edward Stanhope*, the Earle of *Cumberlande* and the Lord Major beareing the Sword and Mace before the King untill they came unto the House of *St. Kathren*, at which Place the Earl said, *I*

VOL. I.

Y.

it

* Dr. Tbornborough.

it your Majesties Pleasure that I deliver the Sword again unto my Lord Major, for he is now at the utmost Parties of the Liberties of this Cittie? Then the King willed the Earle to deliver the Major his Sworde again: Then the Major alighted from his Horse and kneeling, tooke his Leave of the King, and the King pulling off his Glove tooke the Major by the Hande and gave him Thankes and so rode towards *Grimstone*, being attended by the Shrieffes to the Midell of *Tadcaster* Bridge, being the utmost Boundes of their Liberties. The next Day the Lord Major, according as he was commanded by a Nobleman, came the next Morning unto the Court at *Grimstone*, accompanied with the Recorder and foure of his Brethren, viz. *W. Robinson*, *James Birkbie*, *William Greenburie*, and *Robert Askwith*, and certain chiefe Officers of the Cittie; and when his Majestie understode of their coming, he willed that the Major, with Master *Robinson* and Master *Birkbie*, should be brought up into his Bed-Chamber; and the King said, *My Lord Major our Meaning was to have bestowed a Knighthood upon you in your own House, but the Companie being so great, we rather thought it good to have you here;* and then his Majestie knighted the Lord Major*, for which Honour the Lord Major gave his Majestie most humble and heartie Thankes, and returned.”

This was the first Reception King *James* met with in the City of *York* from the Citizens; and it was here also that the Lords of the Council did attend his Majesty, and all Preparation was made that he might appear in this Northern Metropolis like a King of *England*, and take that State on him which was not known in *Scotland*†. The King seemed so much pleased with the Duty and Honours paid him by the Lord Mayor and Citizens, that at Dinner with them he expressed himself much in Favour of the City, seemed concerned that their River was in so bad a Condition, and said, *It should be made more navigable, and that he himself would come and be a Burgeess among them.* ‡

* Sir Robert Water.

† History of the Court of King *James I.*

‡ *Hildyard's Antiquities of York.*

We come next to the Queen's Reception into York, in her Journey to London from Edinburgh; the same Annalist, we have before quoted, writes thus of this Affair.

"The Queen, says he, being in all Respects prepared, accompanied, and attended as was meet for soe great a Princeesse, being likewise accompanied with her two eldeste Children; that is to say, Prince Harry and the Lady Elizabeth, they made a happy Journey from Scotland to England, and were in all Places wheresoever they arrived most joyfully received and entertained in as loving, duteous, and honourable a Manner as all Cities, Townes, and particularly Knyghtes and Gentlemen had had formerlie done to the Kinges most excellent Majesty, which for Brevities Sake I here omit; and for a Taste for all will only speak briefly of their coming to the Cittie of Yorke, where the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Cittizens attending their coming at the outmost Boundes of their Liberties, with all Magnificence brought the Queen, the Prince, and the Lady Elizabeth unto the Cittie of York the 11th of June, where they exposed themselves certain Daies, in which Space the Cittie spared not for any Coste to give them Royal Entertainment, and presented them with several Gistes as true Signes of their zealous Love and Duty; the Queen came thither on *Whitsun-Eve*, and upon *Wednesday* following, the Queen, with the Prince and the Lady Elizabeth, rode from York to *Grimstone*, &c."

The Presents that were bestowed on this Occasion, were, first, a large Silver Cup with a Cover double gilt, weighing forty-eight Ounces to the Queen, with fourscore Angels of Gold included in it; to the Prince was presented a Silver Cup with a Cover double gilt, Weight twenty Ounces, and 20 l. in Gold; and, lastly, to the Princess Elizabeth a Purse of Twenty Angels of Gold.

In 1604 no less than 3512 Persons died of the Plague in York; the Markets were all cried down; the Lord President's Courts adjourned to *Ripon* and *Durham*, and many of the Citizens left their Houses; the Infected were sent to *Hob-Moor* and *Horse-Fair*, where Booths were erected for them of Boards; the Minster and Minster-Yard were close shut up. This is the last Contagion this City has been visited with. *Et avertat Deus in-æternum.*

About *Martinmas* (1607) began an extreme Frost; the River *Ouse* was wholly frozen up so hard that you might have passed with Cart and Carriage as well as upon firm Ground. Many Sports were practised on the Ice, as shooting at eleven Score, bowling, playing at Football, Cudgels, &c. and a Horse-Race was run from the Tower at *Marygate* End, along and under the great Arch of the Bridge, to the Crane at *Skeldergate* Postern.

On the 16th of *January*, 1614, it began to snow and freeze, and so by Intervals snowed without any Thaw till the 7th of *March* following; at which Time was such a heavy Snow upon the Earth as was not remembered by any Man then living. It pleased God that at the Thaw fell very little Rain; nevertheless the Flood was so great, that the *Ouse* ran down *Northstreet* and *Skeldergate* with such Violence, as to force all the Inhabitants of those Streets to leave their Houses. This Inundation chanced to happen in the Assize-Week, *John Armytage*, Esquire, being then High Sheriff of *Yorkshire*. Business was hereby much obstructed; at *Ousebridge* End four Boats were continually employed in carrying People cross the River, and the like in *Walmgate* cross the *Fosse*. This Inundation continued at the Height ten Days, and many Bridges were driven down by it in the Country, and much Land overflowed. After this Storm followed such fair and dry Weather, that in *April* the Ground was as dusty as in any Time of Summer: This Drought continued till the 20th of *August* following without any Rain at all, and made such a Scarcity of Hay, Beans, and Barley, that the former was sold at *York* for 30s. and 40s. a Wain Load, and at *Leeds* for 4l.

On the 10th of *August*, 1617, King *James* came to *York*, in his Progress towards *Scotland*, accompanied with many Earls, Barons, Knights, and Esquires, both *Scotch* and *English*. The Sheriffs of the City, clad in their Scarlet Gowns, attended by 100 young Citizens on Horseback in suitable Habits, met the King on *Tadcaster* Bridge, and carried their white Rods before him till they came at *Micklegate* Bar. Here the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Twenty-four, with many other Citizens, standing on the North-Side within the Rails, welcomed his Majesty to his City of *York*; the Lord Mayor on his Knees presented the Sword, with all the Keys of the

Gate

Gates and Posterns, and likewise presented a standing Cup with a Cover of Silver double gilt, which cost 50*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* a Purse of 3*l.* Price, with 100 double Sovereigns in it, and made a very worthy and witty Speech at the Delivery of each Particular to the King. After him Serjeant *Hutton*, Recorder, made a long Oration; which ended, the King delivered the City's Sword to the Earl of *Cumberland*, the City's Chief Captain, as he is here called, who carried it, and the Lord Mayor the Mace, before his Majesty. On the Top of *Ousebridge* another Speech was made to the King by one *Sands Perewine*, a *London* Poet, concerning the cutting of the River, and making it more navigable. From thence his Majesty rode to the Minster, where he heard Divine Service, and so to the Manor, where he kept his Court.

The next Day he dined with the Lord *Sheffield*, Lord President, at Sir *George Young's* House in the Minster-Yard, where he lay during the King's Abode at the Manor: After Dinner and Banquet he made eight Knights, walked into the Cathedral, viewed the Chapter-House and Church, which he much commended for its elegant Workmanship.

The Day after his Majesty rode in his Coach through the City with all his Train to *Bischoptorph*, where he dined with *Toby Matthew*, Archbishop.

On the 13th, being *Sunday*, his Majesty went to the Cathedral, where the Archbishop preached a learned Sermon before him: After Sermon ended he touched about seventy Persons for the *King's Evil*. This Day he and his whole Court dined with the Lord Mayor; after Dinner he knighted the Lord Mayor*, and Serjeant *Hutton*, the Recorder. †

On *Monday* the King rode to *Sheriff-Hutton* Park.

On *Tuesday*, *August* 15, Dr. *Hodgson*, Chancellor of the Church and Chaplain to his Majesty, preached before him at the Manor: After Sermon the King took Coach in the Manor-Yard, where the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs took their Leaves of his Majesty, who went that Night to *Ripon*.

At this Time the City was charged with 117*l.* in Fees to the King's Officers.

Y 3

Anno

* Sir Robert Asquith.

† Sir Richard Hutton, afterwards Judge Hutton.

Anno 1625 King *James* died, and was succeeded by *Charles* his second Son, the eldest (*Henry*) dying before the Father.

We now enter upon a busy Reign indeed, unfortunate in all Respects both to Prince and People. What Share our City bore in these home-bred Divisions, is very considerable; and since not handed down so distinctly as it ought by any Historian, we have taken Pains to collect from Manuscripts, Records, and Histories, what we found worthy of Notice, and shall beg Leave to be very particular in the Recital. The Reader will find that our City's Loyalty was, in an especial Manner, exemplified to its Sovereign, quite through these dreadful Scenes of Blood and Misery.

King *Charles*, in a peaceable Progress for *Scotland*, came to *York*, *May 24, 1633*. He was met on *Tadcaster* Bridge by the Sheriffs with six Score Liveries, and conducted by them to the City. The Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen standing within *Micklegate* Bar, on a Scaffold erected for that Purpose, saluted the King at his Entrance, and the Lord Mayor on his Knees delivered up the Keys of the City in a blue Silk String, as also the Sword and Mace, and delivered himself in the following Manner:

Most High and Mighty Monarch,

OUR most gracious and ever-renowned Sovereign, whose Person is the Image of the glorious God, whose Courses are Paths of Piety and Religion, whose Wisdom and Goodness is the peaceable Government of this your Commonwealth; ever happy be the Day of your Birth, and thrice happy be the Day that brings your gracious Majesty hither to this your antient and famous City of *York*; whose Royal Presence as it does abundantly satisfy our Expectations, so doth it fill the Hearts of us your humble Subjects and Citizens with such overflowing of Consolations, as that our Tongues would become unfit Messengers of our Hearts, should they endeavour to express them.

And, in humble Testimony of our Obedience, we render unto you all Power with the Sword of Justice, that it hath pleased your gracious Majesty and Noble Progenitors to have honoured the Government of this
your

your antient City withal; rejoicing to return unto you what we have received from you, accounting it our greatest Happiness to live under the Command of him, who is the Light of his Subjects Eyes, the Glory and Admiration of the known World.

And with the Sword, in further Testimony of our Faith and Obedience, we also present unto you this Mace, with the Keys of our City-Gates, acknowledging and well assuring ourselves never to be so happy as when we are under your gracious Government and Protection, whose Ingress and staying here with us we humbly desire may be delightful and happy unto your further Progress, and Return may be prosperous and successful.

And that it may be so, let all true-hearted Subjects ever pray, *Kivat Rex*, God bless King Charles. Amen.
Amen.

The Recorder of York, when the Lord Mayor had ended his Harangue, addressed himself on his Knees to the King as follows:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR faithful and obedient Subjects, the Mayor and Commonalty of this City, in all humble Manner present themselves and their bounden Services to your sacred Majesty, which, according to precedent Custom, they humbly present by me, though every Way unfit to speak in your Royal Presence; and therefore I humbly beg your Majesty's favourable Excuse of my Imperfections, and that you will be graciously pleased to license me a few Words on the Behalf of this your City, which is the Metropolitan of these Parts, situate towards the Middle of this Island, and equally distanced between your two regal Cities of the same.

This City, dread Sovereign Lord, for Antiquity is not inferior to any other of this Realm; in former Time it hath been beautified by the Residence and Courts of some Roman Emperors, and afterwards of divers Kings, enriched by Trade, and by those Means was greater and more populous than now it is; for of later Times Trading here decreased, and that principally by reason of some Hindrance in the River, and the Greatness of Ships now in Use; for which nevertheless this River,
by

by your Royal Assistance, might be made serviceable, and until that be done, there is no Hope that this City will attain its former Splendor and Greatness.

In the mean Time we are much supported by other Means from your Royal Majesty; as by an eminent Seat of Justice here continued before the Lord President and Council, to the great Ease and Benefit of us and all other your Subjects in these Parts; likewise of your munificent Charter for Confirmation of our antient Liberties, with ample Addition of divers more.

And now that we have an opportune Time, by your gracious Presence, we render to your excellent Majesty our humblest Thankfulness for these Royal Favours, and, together with them, for all other Benefits which we enjoy by your Majesty's religious and just Government; in regard whereof may be truly said of your Majesty, in your own Person, as was some Time said of the wise King, that there is *Sapientia in Dei in Rege ad faciendam Justitiam*.

But, most especially, when we consider the happy and admired Peace wherein we live, whilst other Nations are full of the Miseries of Wars, as if this singular Blessing was appropriated to your Majesty alone, and so derived to us your Subjects, then we want Words sufficiently to express our Thankfulness for such Protection; but in your Majesty's own pious Words do acknowledge that you reign *Christo auspice*; and we heartily pray Almighty God, that your sacred Majesty may long and prosperously reign over us, and that your Throne may be established on you and yours to the World's End, with Increase of all Honour and Felicity. *Amen.*

The Recorder having ended his Oration, the King ordered the Sword*, Mace, and Keys to be delivered back to the Lord Mayor, who, mounted on Horseback, clad in a Scarlet Gown faced with rich Furr, carried the Mace before his Majesty, four Footmen in black Velvet attending him; the Aldermen, richly decked and horsed, made up the Ceremony, riding before the King to the Manor.

* There being none present who had Right to bear the Sword, we suppose it carried as in the next Solemnity.

The next Day the King dined with the Lord Mayor at his House in the *Pavement*, and knighted him * and the Recorder †. The Day after he dined with the Archbishop, and knighted his Son; and the Day following took Coach at the Manor for *Scotland*. The Presents at this Time were a large Silver Cup and Cover, and a Purse of Gold to the Value of 100*l.* or more.

King *Charles* was most sumptuously entertained in the City at this Time; and Mr. *Echard* remarks two Things on that Head; first, that the Goodwill and Loyalty of this and some other Corporations was in a very noble Manner shewn to their King; as also that at this Time Feasting to Excess was introduced into *England*; which, says he, has ever since been carried on to the great Damage of many Estates and more Manners in the Kingdom.

The *Scots* having thought fit to rebel, the King came down to *York* (*March 30, 1639*) in an Expedition against them, accompanied by most of the Nobility and General Officers of the Kingdom. He was met by the Sheriffs at *Tadcaster*, as usual, and by them conducted to *Micklegate Bar*, where the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, &c. attended him. After delivering up the Sword, Mace, and Keys by the Lord Mayor, and returning them by the King, the Recorder, *Thomas Widdrington*, Esq; addressed himself to his Majesty on his Knees as follows:

Most gracious and dread Sovereign,

BE graciously pleased to pardon this Stay, that we the least and meanest Motes in the Firmament of your Majesty's Government, should thus dare to cause you, our bright and glorious Sun, to stand: Give us Leave, who are the Members of this antient and decayed City, to make known unto your Majesty, even our Sun itself, where the Sun now stands in the City of *York*, which now, like an ill-drawn Picture, needs a Name; a Place so unlike itself, that I may venture to say *Niobe* was never so unlike *Niobe*; never old Man so unlike himself being young, as is the City of *York* so unlike the City of *York*; heretofore an Imperial City, the Place of the Life and Death of the Emperor *Constantius Chlorus*, in whose Grave a burning Lamp was found many Centuries of

* Sir *William Allenson*.

† Sir *William Belt*.

of Years after. The Place honoured with the Birth of *Constantine* the Great, and with the most noble Library of *Egbert*.

I might go further, but this were only to shew or rather speak of antient Tombs.

This City was afterwards twice burned, so that the very Ashes of these Antiquities are not to be found; and if later Scars had not defaced our former Glory, what was it truly in Effect of what we now enjoy?

The Births, Lives, and Deaths of Emperors are not so much for the Honour of *York*, as that King *Charles* was once Duke of *York*; your very Royal Aspect surmounts our former Glory, and scatters our later Clouds.

It is more Honour to us that King *Charles* has given a new Life, Nativity, and Being, by a most benign and liberal Charter, than that *Constantine the Great* had his first Being here. And as for the Lamp found in the Grave of *Chlorus*, your Majesty maintains a Lamp of Justice in this City, which burns more clearly than that of *Chlorus*, and shines into five several Counties, at which each Subject may light a Torch; by the Brightness whereof he may see his own Right, and find and taste some of that sweet and wholesome Manna, here at his own Door, which drops from the Influence of your Majesty's most just and gracious Government. So that if the Library of *Egbert* was now extant amongst us, that very Idea of Eloquence, which the most skilful Orator could extract out of it, would not be able to express what we owe to your Majesty, there being not any Acknowledgments answerable to our Obligations.

For besides all this, the Beams and Lightnings of those eminent Virtues, sublime Gifts, and Illuminations wherewith you are endowed, do cast so forcible Reflections upon the Eyes of all Men, that you fill not only this City, this Kingdom, but the whole Universe with Splendor. You have established your Throne on two Columns of Diamond, Piety and Justice; the one gives you to God, the other gives Men to you, and all your Subjects are most happy in both.

For ourselves, most gracious King, your Majesty's humblest and meanest Subjects, Obedience, the best of Sacrifices, is the only Sacrifice which we have to offer to your most sacred Majesty: Yet vouchsafe to believe,

most

most mighty King, that even our Works, such as they are, shall not resemble those Sacrifices whereout the Heart is plucked, and where, of all the Head, nothing is left but the Tongue; our Sacrifices are those of our Hearts, not of our Tongues.

The Memory of King *Charles* shall ever be sacred unto us as long as there remains an Altar, or that Oblation is offered on Earth. The most devout and fervent Prayers of your Majesty's daily Votaries, the poor Citizens of *York*, are, and ever shall be, that the Scepter of King *Charles* may, like *Aaron's* Rod, bud and blossom, and be an eternal Testimony against all Rebels; and our most chearful and unanimous Acclamations are, That King *Charles* may long live and triumphantly reign; and that this Kingdom may never want a King *Charles* over it.

This Oration ended, the Lord Mayor mounted on Horseback with his Brethren, their Horses in rich Furniture; four Footmen attending the Mayor clad in black Velvet, with the City's Arms embroidered before and behind them. The Lord Mayor carried the Mace before the King, and the common Sword-Bearer the Sword, but not with the Point erect. In this Order they marched through the City to the Palace.

The Country being now up in Arms, the Trained-Bands of the City and Ainsty, clad in Buff-Coats, Scarlet Breeches with Silver Lace, Russet-Boots, black Caps and Feathers, to the Number of 600 Men, stood drawn up on the Outside of *Micklegate* Bar, to receive the King at his Entrance, and gave him a handsome Volley; and when the King was got to the Manor they drew up in *Bishop's-Fields*, over against it, and performed an Exercise, where the Musketeers discharged four Times. On Sunday, when the King went to the Cathedral, these Men of Arms stood Rank and File in the Minster-Yard for his Majesty to pass through them. Their whole Behaviour so pleased the King, that he ordered a Sum of Money to be distributed amongst them, and gave them Thanks in Person.

On Sunday in the Afternoon the King held a Council at the Manor on the *Scotch* Affairs; and as this was the Rendezvous of the whole Army that was to march against those

those Rebels, the King's Time was chiefly taken up in reviewing his Troops which were quartered in the City and the neighbouring Market-Towns.

Upon *Thursday* before *Easter*, (*April 11*) the King kept his *Maunday* in the Cathedral, where the Bishop of *Ely* washed the Feet of thirty-nine poor aged Men in warm water, and dried them with a Linen Cloth: Afterwards the Bishop of *Winchester* washed them over again in white Wine, wiped and kissed them. The King gave to every one of the poor Men a Gown of very good Cloth, a Holland Shirt, new Stockings and Shoes. Also in one Leathern Purse every one had 20 *d.* in Money given him, and in another Purse thirty-nine single Pennies, the Number of his own Years being then thirty-nine. Lastly, each Man had a Wooden Scale full of Wine given him, Scale and all, a Jole of Salt-Fish, and a Jole of Salmon, with a Sixpenny Loaf of Bread. This Ceremony was performed in the South Isle of the Minster, near where the Bells hang *.

Upon

* In an old Writing given our late Antiquarian *F. Drake, Esq;* by the late Rev. Mr. *Creyk*, is this more particular Account of the Ceremony of *Maunday* at *York*, &c.

Thursday before *Easter*, 1639.

The *Maunday* given in *York* Minster, for the King, by the Bishop of *Winchester*, in Manner as followeth, to thirty-nine poor Men sitting along one by another.

First, The Right Foot of every of them washed in cold Water by the Bishop's Pantler, and Sixpence a-piece given them in Money. *Secondly*, Washed again in Claret Wyne lukewarme by the Bishop's Chaplain. *Thirdly*, Washed again, and dried by the Bishop himselfe, and kist every Tyme.

2. To each of them three Ells of coarse Holland for a Shirt.
3. To each of them a Cloth Gowne of gray Freese.
4. To each of them one Pair of Shoes.
5. To each of them a Wooden Dubler, whereon was a Jowle of old Ling, a Jowle of Salmond, six red Herrings, and two Loaves of Bread.
6. To each of them a little Purse, wherein was xx *d.* in Money, and so many single Pennies as the King was Years of Age, being thirty-nine.
7. To every of them a little Scale of Claret Wyne, which they drank off; and so, after a few Prayers read, the Ceremony ended, and the poor Men carried away all that was given them.

During the Tyme the King touched those that had the Disease called the Evill, were read these Words: *They shall lay their Hands upon the Sick, and they shall recover.*

During the Tyme the King put about every of their Necks an Angel of Gold with a white Ribben, were read these Words: *That Light was the true Light which lighteth every Man which cometh into the World.*

Upon *Good-Friday* the King touched for the King's Evil, in the Minster, 200 Persons †. Upon *Easter-Sunday* the King received the Sacrament at the Cathedral. On *Monday* he ordered 70 l. to be given to each of the four Wards of the City, to be distributed amongst poor Widows. On *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* he touched each Day 100 Persons for the Evil. At his leisure Hours, during his Stay in *York*, his usual Diversion was to play at a Game called the *Balloon*.

Before the King left *York*, he and his whole Court were nobly treated by the Lord Mayor, *Roger Jaques*, Esq; whom his Majesty knighted, and *Thomas Widderington*, Esq; Recorder. The florid Harangue this last-named Gentleman made the King at his Entrance, is printed in *Rushworth*, except the last Paragraph, which containing some warmer Expressions of Loyalty than are usual to meet with, and by no Means suiting his future Conduct, the Orator, though he spoke them, thought not fit for the Press.

King *Charles*, after he had staid near a Month in *York*, took his Journey, with his Nobility and all his Army, towards *Scotland*, *April 29*. At his Approach the *Scots* submitted, laid down their Arms, and swore Obedience to their Sovereign. But

The very next Year, (1640) when the King had disbanded his Forces and thought all quiet, the *Scottish* Army, under the Command of *Alexander Lesley*, Earl of *Leven*, and the Marquis of *Montrose*, entered *England* in Defiance of the most solemn Oaths, says *Mr. Echard*, contrary to their Allegiance to their natural King, and in direct Opposition to his ancient Rights and Authority over them. This bold Attempt put the whole Kingdom in an Uproar; the Militia was raised, and a strong Press for Soldiers in all Places. Thro' *York* marched several Bodies of Light Horse, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord *Conway*, Sir *John Digby*, and other Leaders, as they could collect their Forces. These were strong enough to have driven the *Scots* home again; but by the Neglect of Lord *Conway*, the King's General, they were suffered, after a slight Skirmish, to possess themselves of all *Northumberland* and the Bishoprick of

VOL. I.

Z

Durham,

† From an old MS. of Mr. Creyk's.

Durham, to the Skirts of *Yorkshire*; all which they taxed at 850 *l. per Diem*, and loudly threaten'd they would be in *York* e'er long.

To put a Stop to this bold Invasion, the King set out from *London* on the 23d of *August*, accompanied by the Marquis of *Hamilton* and the Duke of *Lenox*, and in three Days arrived at *York*, where he was received with the usual Gifts, Speeches, and Ceremonies.

From *York* the King published a Proclamation, in which he declared, "That he had endeavoured to appease the rebellious Courses of his Subjects in *Scotland* who, under Pretence of Religion, had thought to shake off his Regal Government, and did now take Arms and invade the Kingdom of *England*; and therefore he declared that those who had already entered, or should presume in a warlike Manner to enter, any Part of *England*, should be adjudged, and were thereby denounced Rebels and Traitors against his Majesty. However, he added, if they would yet acknowledge their former Crimes, crave Pardon, and yield Obedience for the Time to come, he tendered them his gracious Pardon, they returning home, and demeaning themselves like loyal Subjects for the future." *

This Proclamation had no Effect upon the Rebels, but they continued in the Country they had taken Possession of, and, abundantly satisfied with what they never hoped to enjoy, made no Haste to advance their new Conquests. †

On the 31st of *August* the King, for his greater Security at *York*, rode about the City, accompanied by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, several General Officers, some Aldermen and Citizens, and with Pickaxes, Spades, and Shovels marked out several Intrenchments and Fortifications. ‡

On the 1st of *September* the King and his Council having Advice that the *Scots* did not come forward, but remained at *Newcastle*, the next Day the King dispatched the Hon. *John Bellafyse*, second Son to Lord *Fauconberg* with a Command that, upon their Allegiance, they should not stir any further till a Treaty was begun.

* *Ecbard.*† Lord *Clarendon.*‡ *Ex MS.*

On the 4th of September came a Petition to the King from the Scots, thus directed :

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

*The humble Petition of your Commissioners of the late Parliament, and others of his Majesty's most loyal Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland. **

The Substance of which is as follows : " That whereas by many Sufferings they were constrained, for Relief and obtaining their humble and just Desires, to come into England, where they had lived upon their own Means, Victuals, and Goods brought along with them, neither troubling the Peace of the Kingdom, nor hurting any of his Majesty's Subjects, till they were constrained to use Violence against those who opposed their peaceable Passage at Newburn upon Tyne, who have brought their own Blood upon their own Heads. For preventing the like or greater Opposition, and that they might come to his Majesty's Presence, for obtaining from his Justice and Goodness full Satisfaction to their Demands, they, his Majesty's most humble and loyal Subjects, do persist in that most humble and submissive Way of petitioning, which neither good Success nor bad shall make them desist from humbly entreating that his Majesty, in the Depth of his Royal Wisdom, would consider their pressing Grievances, and with the Consent of the *English* Parliament would settle a firm and durable Peace against all Invasions both from Sea and Land.

" That they might with Chearfulness pay his Majesty, their native King, all Duty and Obedience against the many and great Evils at this Time threatening both Kingdoms, which makes all his Majesty's good Subjects tremble to think on, and which they unanimously pray God to avert, that his Majesty's Throne may be established in Righteousness."

To which his Majesty gave this Answer by his Secretary :

At the Court at York, Sept. 5, 1640.

" His Majesty has seen and considered the within-written Petition, and is graciously pleased to return this Answer by me, that he finds it in such general Terms,

Z 2

that

* Rushworth's Coll. sub hoc Anno.

that, till you express the Particulars of your Desires, his Majesty can give no direct Answer thereunto; wherefore his Majesty requireth that you would set down the Particulars of your Demands with Expedition, he having been always ready to redress the Grievances of his People and, for the more mature Deliberation of the weighty Affairs, his Majesty hath already given out Summons for the Meeting of the Peers of this Kingdom in the City of *York*, the 24th Day of this Month, that with the Advice of the Peers you may receive such Answer to your Petition, as shall most tend to his Honour, and the Peace and Welfare of his Dominions; and in the mean Time, if Peace be that you so much desire as you pretend he expects, and by this his Majesty commands that you advance no further with your Army into these Parts which is the only Means that is left for the present to preserve Peace between the two Nations, and to bring these unhappy Differences into a Reformation, which none is more desirous of than his most sacred Majesty.

LANERICKE.

The King, in this Exigency of his Affairs at the Time, resolved upon an Expedient, which Lord *Clarendon* calls a new Invention not before heard of, so old that it had not been practised for some Hundred Years, which was to call a great Council of all the Peers of *England* to meet and attend his Majesty at *York*. The Ground and Intention of this particular Summons was never known; but, adds the Noble Historian, it probably was the Result of troubled and afflicted Thoughts since no other Way occurred; yet such a Resolution was taken, and Writs immediately issued under the Great Seal to all Peers to attend his Majesty at *York* within twenty Days, and Preparations were made to receive them accordingly.

Whoever will look back into these Annals will find that, in the former *Scotch Wars*, many Consultations of this Kind were held in this very City, on any sudden Invasion, where the Commons were not concerned. In 1272 *Edward I.* summoned all the Peers of the Realm, exclusive of the Commons, to meet at *York* on an extraordinary Occasion. In his Son's unfortunate Rebellion there were many more; and indeed all those Meetings at *York*, which are termed Parliaments during the *Scotch Wars*.

Wars, were no other than a great Council of the Bishops, Abbots, and Barons of the Realm, hastily convened by the King's Writ, and if any of the Commons had the Honour to be called amongst them, it was by the same Authority, and not by any Election of the People. Affairs were much too pressing to wait such dilatory Methods, as at this Time, when the Enemy had entered into the Country, plundered and spoiled the Inhabitants; and, notwithstanding their specious Pretences in the Petition, continued to exact the 850 l. a Day with great Rigour.

This Affair however at this Time made a great Noise, and was blown up with great Zeal by the King's Enemies into a Report, that the King intended to lay aside one of the three Estates of the Nation; when in Truth it was no more than, as Lord *Clarendon* expresses it, an Expedient for the Purpose, since no other Way occurred. The Form of the Writ itself may be matched with many of the same Kind in the *Fœdera Ang.* and since it respects our Subject in two Particulars, we shall give it as follows: *

*R*EX, Reverendissimo in Christo patri consiliario nostro Willielmo, eadem gratia Cantuar. archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano, salutem: Quia super quibusdam arduis et urgentissimis negotiis nos & regni nostri statum coronæque nostræ jura specialiter concernentibus, vobiscum et cum aliis prælatis magnatibus et proceribus ipsius regni apud civitatem nostram Eboraci, die Jovis 24 die instantis mensis Septembris, colloquium habere volumus et tractatum; vobis, in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungimus et mandamus, quod, cessante excusatione quacunque, dictis die et loco personaliter interfutis nobiscum et cum prælatis magnatibus et proceribus prædictis super dict. negotiis tractaturi, vestrumque consilium impensuri; et hoc sicut nos et honorem nostrum ac tranquillitatem regni nostri juriumque nostrorum prædict. diligitis nullatenus omittatis.

Teste meipso apud Eboracum, septimo die Sept. 1640.

Per ipsum R E G E M.

The same Day the Writs went out, Sir *Jacob Aspley* † came into York with the King's whole Army, making about 12,000 Foot and 3000 Horse. These Forces were encamped, Half in *Clifton-Fields* and Half in *Bishop-Fields*,

Z 3

* Rushworth's Coll.

† Ex MS.

Fields, on both Sides the River *Ouse*, and a Bridge of Boats conjoined them. There came into *York* at this Time 50 odd Pieces of Ordnance, great and small, 132 Waggon laden with Powder, Match, and Shot, with several other Carriages full of Pickaxes, Spades, and Shovels, all from the King's Magazine at *Hull*. Many of the Cannon were planted before the Camp, where several Ramparts and Bulwarks were thrown up; the rest of the Cannon and Carriages stood in the *Almonry-Yard*. There was a Court of Guard kept at every Bar and Postern in the City, Day and Night, for the Space of nine Weeks; for notwithstanding the open Pretences of the *Scots*, the King had been secretly informed that they intended to surprize him in *York*, and therefore it behoved him to make these Preparations to receive them. The Army lay incamped, in the Manner aforesaid, from the first of *September* till near *Martinmas*; and then, by reason of the cold Weather, they were quartered in the neighbouring Towns and Villages.

Many were the Petitions that came to the King at this Time, from all Parts, for him to call a Parliament.

On the 10th of *September* the King called the *Yorkshire* Gentry together, and proposed to them the Payment of the Trained-Bands for two Months; which Proposition they took into present Consideration, being much satisfied that his Majesty had summoned a great Council of his Peers to meet at *York*.

On the next Day they returned answer to this Effect: That the Petitioners have consulted together concerning the Payment of the Trained-Bands for two Months, and have agreed upon doing the same, for which Purpose they will use their utmost Endeavours; humbly beseeching his Majesty to consider, out of his Royal Wisdom, how to compose the Differences with the *Scots*, that the Country may enjoy Peace again, and not run more into Danger; and do most humbly beseech his Majesty to think of summoning a Parliament, the only Way to confirm a Peace betwixt both Kingdoms.

Mr. Rushworth makes this Remark, That the *Yorkshire* Gentry desired the Lord *Strafford* to present this Petition to his Majesty, which he inclined to do, leaving out those Words of Advice to the King to call a Parliament, for that he knew it was the King's full Purpose

to do it; but, adds he, the *Yorkshire* Gentlemen's Hearts, and the Voice of the whole Kingdom, being fervent for a Parliament, they were unwilling to leave out these Words of summoning a Parliament; therefore they delivered their Petition themselves, which was well taken by his Majesty.

Two Petitions were presented to the King from the poor distressed Inhabitants of the County of *Northumberland* and Bishoprick of *Durham*, complaining grievously of the intolerable Hardships imposed upon them by the *Scotch*: "That besides the Sum of 850*l.* a Day, they demand a great Proportion of Hay and Straw, by Means of which their Cattle, if any should be left them, were in Danger of being starved. They had none but God and his Majesty to fly to for Relief in this unexpected Calamity; humbly beseeching the King to take Pity of their Miseries, &c."

On the 24th of *September* the great Assembly of Peers met in the Deanry, the Hall of which was richly hung with Tapestry for that Purpose; the King's Chair of State was placed upon the Half-Pace of the Stairs, at the upper End of the Hall, from whence his Majesty delivered himself in the following Speech to them:

My Lords,

UPON sudden Invasions, where the Danger was near and instant, it hath been the Custom of my Predecessors to assemble the great Council of the Peers, and by their Advice and Assistance to give a timely Remedy to such Evils, which could not admit a Delay so long as must of Necessity be allowed for assembling of a Parliament.

This being our Condition at this Time, and an Army of Rebels lodged within this Kingdom, I thought it most fit to conform myself to the Practice of my Predecessors in like Cases; that, with your Advice and Assistance, we might justly proceed to the Chastisement of these Insolencies, and securing of my good Subjects.

In the first Place I must let you know, that I desire nothing more than to be rightly understood of my People; and to that End I have of myself resolved to call a Parliament, having already given Order to the Lord-Keeper to issue the Writs instantly, so that the Parli-
ment

ment may be assembled by the 3d of *November* next; whither, if my Subjects bring those good Affections which become them towards me, it shall not fail on my Part to make it a happy Meeting. In the mean Time there are two Points wherein I shall desire your Advice, which indeed are the chief End of your Meeting.

First, What Answer to give to the Petition of the Rebels, and in what Manner to treat with them; of which, that you may give a sure Judgment, I have ordered that your Lordships shall be clearly and fully informed of the State of the whole Business, and upon what Reason the Advices which my Privy-Council unanimously gave me were grounded.

The second is, How my Army shall be kept on Foot and maintained until the Supplies from a Parliament may be had: For so long as the *Scotch* Army remains in *England*, I think no Man will counsel me to disband mine; for that would be an unspeakable Loss to all this Part of the Kingdom, by subjecting them to the greedy Appetite of the Rebels, besides the unspeakable Dishonour that would thereby fall upon this Nation.

We shall not trouble the Reader with the Debates at this first Day's Meeting, which he may so readily meet with in *Rushborth*, *Clarendon*, and *Echard*, but only say, that when the *Scotch* Petition came to be read, who, says the Noble Historian, knew their Time, and had always given the King, how rough and undutiful soever their Actions were, as good and as submissive Words as can be imagined; this Petition, *full of as much Submission as a Victory itself could produce*, as was urged by some Lords, could not but beget a Treaty; and accordingly sixteen Peers* were nominated for it, *York* being the Place mentioned by the King for that Purpose, which the *Scots* would not consent to; giving for Reason that it was not a Place secure, since their great Enemy the Earl of *Strafford* commanded there in Chief; so *Ripon* was nominated by them, and agreed to by the King.

The Treaty being opened, the great Council of Peers continued to meet, and took into Consideration the

give

* E. of Hertford,	E. of Warwick,	Vis. Mandewile,	Lord Pawlet,
E. of Bedford,	E. of Bristol,	Lord Wharton,	Lord Howard,
E. of Essex,	E. of Holland,	Lord Paget,	Lord Savile,
E. of Salisbury	E. of Berkshire,	Lord Brook,	Lord Dunsmore.

King's second Proposition concerning the keeping up and paying the Forces, and being acquainted by the Lord *Strafford* that it would take 200,000*l.* to support them, it was resolved that the Sum should be borrowed of the City of *London*; and a Letter from the Lords was prepared and sent accordingly.

In one of the Day's Debates *Edward Lord Herbert*, commonly called *The black Lord-Herbert*, unsatisfied with the Demands of the *Scotch* Commissioners, which was no less than 40,000*l.* a Month, advised the King to fortify *York*, and refuse it; the Reasons he gave in his Speech are as follow, from *Rushworth*:

"*First*, That *Newcastle* being taken, it was necessary to fortify *York*, there being no other considerable Place betwixt the *Scots* and *London*, which might detain their Army from advancing forwards.

"*Secondly*, That Reasons of State having admitted the Fortification of our most inland Towns against Weapons used in former Times, it may as well admit Fortification against the Weapons used in these Times.

"*Thirdly*, That Towns have been always averse to Wars and Tumults, as subsisting by the peaceable Ways of Trade and Traffick; insomuch that when either great Persons, for their private Interests, or the Commons, for their Grievances, have taken Arms, Townsmen have been noted ever to continue in their accustomed Loyalty and Devotion.

"*Fourthly*, That this agreeth with the Custom of all other Countries, there being no Town any where he knew in Christendom, of the Greatness of *York*, that hath not its Bastions and Bulwarks.

"As for the Charges, the Citizens of *York* might undertake that by his Majesty's Permission; for since it is Maxim of War, that every Town may fortify its Circumference within the Space of two Months, the Expences cannot be great.

"And for the Manner of doing it, nothing else is needful, but that at the Distance of every twenty-five Score Paces round about the Town, the Walls should be thrown down, and certain Bastions or Bulwarks of Earth be erected by the Advice of some good Engineer.

"For the performing whereof every Townsman might
give

give his helping Hand, digging and casting up Earth, only where the said Engineer should appoint: And for Ordnance, Ammunition, and a Magazine, the Townsmen, likewise for their Security, might be at the Charge thereof in these dangerous Times; it being better to employ some Money so to prevent the taking of the Town, than to run the Hazard of being in that Estate in which the *Newcastle* Men now are. I could add something concerning an ancient Law or Custom called *Murage*, by which Money was raised for fortifying of inland Towns; but because I know not of what Validity this Law or Custom is at this Time, I shall refer the further Consideration thereof to the Learned in our Antiquities.

“I shall conclude therefore, with your Majesty’s good Favour, for the fortifying of *York*, as assuring myself, that if for Want of such Fortification it fall into the *Scotchmen’s* Hands, they will quickly fortify it as they have already done *Newcastle*.”

This Lord spoke also very warmly against the Treaty carrying on at *Ripon*, said many smart Things against it and the *Scotch* exorbitant Demand, and concluded his whole Speech with this sensible Paragraph:

“That if his Majesty would try whether they meant really a Treaty or an Invasion, the Commissioners should move for disbanding the Armies on both Sides, all Things else remaining in the State they now are, until the Treaty was ended; howsoever the 40,000*l.* monthly should be kept rather for paying the King’s Army and reinforcing it, if Need were, than any other Way whatsoever.”

We cannot forbear taking Notice, that whilst the King was at *York* this Time, and the Treaty subsisting, the brave Marquis of *Montrose*, one of the *Scotch* Generals, observing the scandalous Proceedings at the Treaty, was so touched with the Reflection of espousing so bad a Cause, that he wrote a dutiful and submissive Letter to the King, offering to support him with his Life and Fortune. A Copy of this Letter, to shew what Sort of People the King had about him, was immediately sent back to *Lesley*, the other General, who challenged the Marquis with holding Correspondence with the Enemy;

my; the Marquis undauntedly owned it, and asked, *Who it was that durst reckon the King an Enemy?* Which Bravery of his so quashed the Charge, that they durst not proceed against him in a judicial Manner. *

From the 24th of September to the 18th of October following, did the King and his great Council of Peers continue to sit as usual; and in this Month of October a Chapter of the Garter was held at York, wherein the Earl of Strafford was elected a Companion. The Entry of this is in the Register of the Garter, wherein the tragical Reason for that unfortunate Nobleman's being never installed, is put down in such strong Terms, that we choose to give it *verbatim*.

Out of the REGISTER of the GARTER.

ANNO MDCXL. *cum rebelles Scoti Angliæ finibus incubarent, beatissimæ memoriæ princeps Carolus primus, convocato Eboraci magno porcerum concilio, mense Octobris virum illustrissimum Thomam comitem Straffordix, vicecomitem Wentworthix, et Hiberniæ pro-regem, nobilissimi ordinis comitem elegit; numquam vero inaugurabatur, quippe qui paulo post a parlamento tanquam majestatis pro tribunali pestulatus, et quanquam magna animi præsentia inimicorum articulos et criminationes quam facillime dilueret, ipse rex sese interponeret, et innocentiam ejus (quantum ad summa articulorum capita) judiciorum pœna liberare conaretur, perduellionis nihil omnius damnatus, et apud turris Londinensis collem, Maii 12^o, 1641, capite plexus est. Sic cecidit prudentissimus rei civilis administrator; regiæque causæ, ecclesiastici ordinis, patriæque libertatis, veluti victima occubuit, illud vero sanguinis profluvium, quod ex illius venis incisis effluebat, permultos exinde annos sistere non potuerunt.*

The Commissioners, from Time to Time, repaired to York, to let the King and Council know how they proceeded, which all ended in nothing; for many of the Commissioners being of the same Principles, as to Religion and Politicks, with the Rebels they treated with, cared not how much the King's Affairs were embarrassed, and therefore chose rather to persuade the King to remove the

* *Eclard's History of England, &c.*

the Treaty to *London*, and subject the Country still to pay the Contribution of 850 *l.* a Day till all was concluded on, rather than suffer the Earl of *Strafford* to dislodge them, which he had already begun to do by defeating three or four of their Regiments which advanced too far during the Treaty, and shewed the Country that there was a better Way to get rid of this rebellious Rout, their cruel Oppressors, than long-spun Treaties and fruitless Negotiations.

Thus did the King and his Lords remove from hence to *London*, without concluding any Thing with the *Scotch* but a Cessation, in order to meet the Parliament, which no one can blame the King for being slow in calling, who considers the Consequences; for they were no sooner got together but they were seen to be his most implacable Enemies, and never left their Persecutions till they had made the first and second Estates of the Nation yield up all to the third.

For Proof of this, their first Attempts were to weaken the King's Council, by taking from his Side Archbishop *Laud* and *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*: And to begin with the Earl they voted down the Council Court of this City, which had stood near an Age in *York*; and was no Doubt of great Advantage to it, whatever it might be to the rest of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Strafford* was the last President and Judge of this Court, and had a more ample Commission than any before him.

November 20, 1641, the King came to *York*, accompanied with the Prince of *Wales*, the Palsgrave of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Lenox*, the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and several other Nobles. He was received in the City with the usual Formalities; the next Day he dined with the Lord Mayor and knighted him*, and *Robert Berwick*, Esq; Recorder. This was in a Progress the King was making to *Scotland*, where he had summoned a Parliament in order to try their Tempers towards him, being well assured he could not find them worse disposed than those he had left at *Westminster*.

At the King's Return to *London*, Matters growing every Day worse betwixt him and his Parliament, and loudly

* Sir *Christopher Croft*, Knight, Lord Mayor, 1641. Ex MS.

loudly threatening a Rupture, the King thought fit, says Lord Clarendon, to put a former Design in Execution, which was to remove himself and Court to York, as a Place, adds he, of good Reception and Convenience for those that were willing to attend him. Accordingly the King, Prince Charles, the Prince Elector, and other Nobles, with some Hazard to his own Person, but more to his Attendants, set out from London, and March 18, 1641, came to York. Here it was, says Echard, that the King began to breathe fresh Air, and he soon found himself more at Ease, and in a Condition more safe and eligible than before. Most Persons of Quality of this great County, and of those adjacent, resorted to him, and many Persons of Condition from London, and the Southern Parts, who had not the Courage to attend upon him at Whitehall, or near the Parliament; some out of a Sense of Duty and Gratitude, and others out of Indignation at the Parliament's Proceedings, came to York; so that in a short Time the Court appeared with some Lustre, and our City may be truly called to this persecuted King a City of Refuge.

To welcome his Majesty into these Parts he was presented, soon after his Arrival at York, with the following Petition, subscribed by great Numbers of the Yorkshire Nobility and Gentry, Ministers and Freeholders assembled at the Assizes held in this City at that Time. The Petition runs in these Words in Rushworth:

Most humbly sheweth,

THAT although the piercing Anguish of our Souls, proceeding from the general Distraction of this Kingdom, be eased by the Comfort of your Majesty's Royal Presence and gracious Confidence in the Affections of this County, which hath filled our Hearts with Hopes, and our Tongues with Joy; yet the Fellow-feeling of our passionate Sorrows, and heart-breaking Apprehensions which overwhelms the other Parts of this afflicted Kingdom, do inforce us (after the humble Tender of our Lives and Fortunes, for the Safety and Assurance of your Majesty's Royal Person, Crown, Honour and Estate, just Prerogative and Sovereignty, in any Capacity wherein we may serve your Majesty according to the Laws) to follow that Sacrifice of bounden

VOL. I.

A a

Duty,

Duty, with our earnest Prayers and Petitions, which shall not cry in your princely Ears for Help to almost-ruined *Ireland*; nor implore your Majesty's Concurrence for the Propagation of the Protestant Religion, and Suppression of Popery, since your Majesty's gracious Declaration of yourself in those Particulars, render it an unpardonable Crime to desire further Assurance or Addition to your Majesty's own Words, sacred before God and Man: But emboldened by your Royal Resolution, declared to take away not only the just Fears, but also the Jealousies of your loyal Subjects, and enforced by that infallible Oracle of Truth, that a Kingdom divided cannot stand, we, from the Centre of every one of our Hearts, most earnestly supplicate that your Majesty (being most interested in the flourishing State and Union of your Dominions, and, by long Experience in Government, best acquainted with Prevention of Dangers, and Remedy of Evils) will be graciously pleased to declare such fit Means and Expedients, as may take away all Distances and Misunderstandings betwixt your Majesty and your great Council; to whom we will also address ourselves for such Endeavours on their Parts, as may beget in your Majesty a Confidence in their Counsels, and that blessed Union so necessary to this perplexed Kingdom, and most desired by us and all your Majesty's loving and faithful Subjects.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray for your Majesty's long and prosperous Reign, &c.

Upon the Delivery of this Petition his Majesty immediately returned them this Answer:

Master Sheriff and Gentlemen,

I Believe you expect not a present and particular Answer to your Petition, because it is new to me; only in general I must tell you, that I see by it that I am not deceived in the Confidence I have in the Affections of this County to my Person and State, and I assure you that I will not deceive your Confidence, which at this Time you have declared in your Petition to have in me; and I am glad to see that it is not upon mistaken Grounds, as other Petitions have been to me since I came to this Place, concerning which let me observe unto you,

you, that my Answers were to clear those Mistakings; for I never did go about to punish or discourage them from petitioning to me in an humble Way, though the Subject did not agree with my Sense; albeit, within the Memory of Man, People have been discouraged and threatened to be punished for Petitions.

I observe that your Petition is so modest, that it doth not mention any Particular for your own Good, which indeed I expected, as knowing that in some Particulars I have great Reason to do; and therefore, that you may not fare the worse for your Modesty, I will put you in Mind of three Particulars, which I conceive to be for the Good of this County.

The *first* is concerning your Trained-Bands, to reduce them to a lesser Number, for which I profess to stand engaged by Promise to you, which I had performed long since, if I had been put in Mind of it; and now I tell you shew me but the Way, and, when you shall think fit, I shall instantly reduce them to that Number which I promised you two Years ago.

The *second* is, that which is owing to this County for Billet-Money, the Truth is, that for the present I cannot repay it; only I will say this, that if all the Water had come to the right Mill, upon my Word you had been long ago satisfied in this Particular; and so I leave to your Discretions which Way you will advise, and assist me to comply with your Engagements in this Point.

The *third*, that for which I was petitioned as I came up the last Year, both by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of this City, and likewise by divers others of this County, as I went Southward, and that is concerning the Court of York: And first let me tell you, that as yet I know no legal Dissolution of it; for hitherto formally there has nothing come to me, either directly or indirectly, for the taking of it away; therefore I may say, it is rather shaken in Pieces than dissolved. Now my Desire is, in Compliance to what I answered last Year unto the several Petitions delivered to me on this Subject, that you would consult and agree among yourselves in what Manner you would have the Court established most to your own Contentments, and to the Good of all these Northern Parts, in such a legal Way as that it

may not justly be accepted again; and I assure you, on the Word of an honest Man, that you shall not blame me, if you have not full Satisfaction in it.

Within a Day or two ye shall have a particular Answer to your Petition, which shall be such a one as I am confident will give you good Satisfaction, and put you into such a Way as I hope may produce good Effects for the Good of all this Kingdom.

In two Days his Majesty's Secretary of State delivered to the *Yorkshire* Gentry this Answer to their Petition.

IN the first Place his Majesty is glad to see what you say concerning the Relief of his distressed Subjects in *Ireland*, and the Propagation of the true Religion amongst us against the Superstition of Popery, is only to shew your Confidence in his princely Word, wherein he again hath commanded me to assure you, that he will neither deceive your Trust nor wrong himself so much, as not to be very punctual in Performance of the Engagements he hath already made concerning those Particulars, which besides the Performance of his Word, which he holds most dear to him, his own Inclinations naturally induce him unto.

Now concerning the Prayer of your Petition, his Majesty doth graciously interpret, that your desiring him to declare such fit Means and Expedients as may take away all Distance and Misunderstandings betwixt his Majesty and his great Council, is no otherwise than to have the more authentick Ground, and the better Direction which Way to carry yourselves in your Addresses to the Parliament for that Effect: And therefore his Majesty assures you that not only the best, (but as he conceives) the sole Way for this good Understanding betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament (which he assures you that he no less desires than yourselves) is, that the Parliament will take his Majesty's Message of the 20th of *January* last into Consideration speedily, seriously, and effectually; and that the Militia of this Kingdom may be settled by Act of Parliament, according to his Majesty's Explanation of his Answer concerning the Militia, which he made in the Answer returned to both Houses upon the Petition presented to him the 25th of

March

March last: And therefore his Majesty desires you to take those Answers and that Message into your serious Consideration, and thereupon to proceed (according to the Intimation in your Petition) in your Addresses to the Parliament, as you shall judge fittest for the Good of this Kingdom, and the Expressions of your Duty and Affection to his Majesty's Person and State.

At the Court at York, April 7, 1642.

OLIVER NICHOLAS.

The King gave Orders for his Majesty's Printers to set up their Presses, which was done in the House formerly St. William's College, but then Sir Henry Jenkins's, in the Minster-Yard, in order to begin a Paper War, which was briskly carried on by both Parties till they entered upon a real one.

April 7, the King kept his Maunday in the Cathedral, where the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Almoner, performed the usual Ceremonies; the same Day James Duke of York came to this City, where the Day following the King kept the Festival of St. George in great State, and the young Duke of York was made Knight Companion of the Garter, in the Chaper-House, with the utmost Magnificence.

The Register of the Garter saith this was *April* 20, 1642; and adds, that the Companions present at the Election were the Prince of Wales, the Elector Palatine, and the Earl of Lindsey; at which said Chapter Prince Rupert was likewise elected. The following is a Copy of the Entry.

FROM THE REGISTER OF THE GARTER.

SUB finem anni 1641, rex factiosis civium Londinensium tumultibus, a curia albæ basilicæ pulsus, gradatim versus Eboracum tendit ubi Aprilis 20, 1642, capitulum celebravit supremus præsentibus honoratissimis DD. illustrissimo Walliæ principe, electore Palatino duce Richmondio, et comite Lindseio in hoc capitulo supremus, commilitonum numero requisito ad capitulum complendum insuper habito filium suum secundum illustrissimum principem Jacobum ducem Eboracensem, et nepotem principem Rupertum electorem ad Rhenum nobilissimi ordinis commilitones elegit, iisque sic in ordinem cooptatis indulsit, ut titulo, honore et

superioritate pro electionis tempore fruerentur, quamvis pro solenni more inaugurari non possint, quum Windesora hisce solennitatibus peragendis sacrata, sub rebellium ditione teneatur, cum hac tamen exceptionis clausula, ut quam primum per tumultus liceret, ambo Windesore inaugurarentur.

The Inscription on the Plate for *James Duke of York*, in the second Stall of the Chapel at *Windsor*, is thus, after his Titles :

— élu à YORK, le vingtiesme jour d'Avril, 1642; et à cause de la rebellion suivante ne fut pas installé au chateau de Windesore jusq'au quinxiesme jour d'Avril, 1661.

We shall not trouble the Reader with the Particulars of the Affair at *Hull*, so very well known; but only say that the King, after his Repulse by Sir *John Hotham*, laid that Night at *Beverley*, and the next Day returned to *York*, full of Trouble and Indignation for this high Affront, which he foresaw would produce infinite Mischiefs.

We cannot however omit a Petition which was delivered to his Majesty at *York*, upon his Arrival there, by a great Number of the Gentlemen of that County, concerning the Magazine at *Hull*, before his Majesty went thither; and a Message from the King himself to the Parliament, with a Relation of his Motives of going to *Hull*, his Treatment there, and a Demand of Justice against Sir *John Hotham*, in these Words :

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Petition of the Gentry and Commons of the County of York.

Most Royal Sovereign,

ENcouraged by your Majesty's many Testimonies of your gracious Goodness to us and our County, which we can never sufficiently acknowledge; we, in all Duty and Loyalty of Heart, address ourselves to your sacred Majesty, beseeching you to cast your Eyes and Thoughts upon the Safety of your own Person, and your princely Issue, and this whole County; a great Means of which we conceive doth consist in the Arms and Ammunition at *Hull*, placed there by your princely Care and

and Charge, and since, upon general Apprehensions of Dangers from foreign Parts represented to your Majesty, thought fit as yet to be continued; we, for our Parts, conceiving ourselves to be still in Danger, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to take such Course and Order that your Magazine may still there remain, for the better securing of these and the Northern Parts; and the rather, because we think fit, that that Part of the Kingdom should be best provided where your sacred Person doth reside: *Your Person being like David's, the Light of Israel, and more worth than ten Thousand of us,*

We shall daily pray, &c.

His Majesty's Message sent to the Parliament, April 24, 1642, concerning Sir John Hotham's Refusal to give his Majesty Entrance into Hull.

HIS Majesty having received the Petition inclosed from most of the chief Gentlemen near about York, desiring the Stay of his Majesty's Arms and Munition in his Magazine at Hull, for the Safety not only of his Majesty's Person and Children, but likewise of all these Northern Parts, the manifold Rumours of great Dangers inducing them to make their said Supplication, thought it most fit to go himself in Person to his Town of Hull, to view his Arms and Munition there, that thereupon he might give Directions what Part thereof might be necessary to remain there, for the Security and Satisfaction of his Northern Subjects, and what Part thereof might be spared for Ireland, the arming of his Majesty's Scotch Subjects that are to go there, or to replenish his chiefeft Magazine in the Tower of London: Where being come upon the 23d of this instant April, much contrary to his Expectation, he found all the Gates shut upon him, and the Bridges drawn up, by the exprefs Command of Sir John Hotham, who, for the present, commands a Garrison there, and from the Walls flatly denied his Majesty Entrance into his said Town; the Reason of which Denial was as strange to his Majesty as the Thing itself, it being, That he could not admit his Majesty without Breach of Trust to his Parliament, which did the more incense his Majesty's Anger

Anger against him; for that he most seditiously and traiterously would have put his Disobedience upon his Majesty's Parliament; which his Majesty being willing to clear, demanded of him if he had the Impudence to aver that the Parliament had directed him to deny his Majesty Entrance, and that if he had any such Order that he should shew it in Writing, for otherways his Majesty could not believe it, which he could no ways produce, but maliciously made that false Interpretation, according to his own Inferences, confessing that he had no such positive Order, which his Majesty was ever confident of: But his Majesty not willing to take so much Pains in vain, offered to come into that his Town only with twenty Horse, finding that the Main of his Presence lay, that his Majesty's Train was able to command the Garrison; notwithstanding his Majesty was so desirous to go thither in a private Way, that he gave Warning thereof but over Night, which he refusing; but by Way of Condition, which his Majesty thought much below him, held it most necessary to declare him a Traitor, unless, upon better Thoughts, he should yield Obedience, which he doubly deserved, as well for refusing Entrance to his natural Sovereign, as by laying the Reason thereof groundlessly and maliciously upon his Parliament.

One Circumstance his Majesty cannot forget, that his Son the Duke of *York*, and his Nephew the Prince Elector, having gone thither the Day before, Sir *John Hotbam* delayed the letting them out to his Majesty till after some Consultation.

Hereupon his Majesty has thought it expedient to demand Justice of his Parliament against the said Sir *John Hotbam*, to be exemplarily inflicted on him according to the Laws; and the rather, because his Majesty would give them a fit Occasion to free themselves of this Impuration by him so injuriously cast upon them, to the End that his Majesty may have the easier Way for chastizing so high a Disobedience. *

All the Answer the Parliament thought fit to give to this Message was this, printed in their Votes, and is extant in *Rushworth*.

Resolved

* The foregoing *Petition and Message* are taken out of a Pamphlet imprinted at London by *Thomas Fawcett*, 1642.

Resolved upon the Question, Die Jovis 28 April, 1642,

"That Sir *John Hotham*, Knt. according to this Resolution, hath done nothing but in Obedience to the Command of both Houses of Parliament.

Resolved, &c. "That this declaring of Sir *John Hotham* Traitor, being a Member of the House of Commons, is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

Resolved, &c. "That this declaring of Sir *John Hotham* Traitor, without due Process of Law, is against the Liberty of the Subject, and against the Law of the Land."

To this they added a Declaration at large, wherein they vindicated their Proceedings, insisted upon publick Rights, and boldly asserted that they had done nothing contrary to his Majesty's Royal Sovereignty in the Town, or his legal Property in the Magazine. This smart Declaration was sent and delivered to the King at York by Lord *Howard of Eserick*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Sir *Henry Cholmley*. These Gentlemen, besides this Commission, were charged by the Parliament with another, which was to reside at York, to be Spies upon the King and his Actions. This last Commission, though the King well knew it, as well by their Behaviour to him as otherways, says *Echard*, yet his Affairs were then at so low an Ebb that he durst not commit them to Prison, nor expel them the City, nor even inhibit them the Court; so they continued in York above a Month, in perfect Defiance of him and his Authority.

On the other Hand, the Nobility and Gentry of the County of York looked upon the Affair of *Hull* to be an open Declaration of War; and, in a Petition to his Majesty at his Return, they expressed a mighty Sense and Passion on his Majesty's Behalf, and offered to raise the Power of the Country, and take the Town by Force; but he rejected that Proposal.

Many were the Declarations, Messages, Resolutions, and Petitions which passed between the King and his Parliament and others, whilst he resided at York, which may be seen and perused in printed Copies of those Times, or in *Rushworth*; to give them all at Length would swell this Work to an enormous Size, for barely to mention them all is too much.

The

The King was amusing himself at *York* in employing his Tongue with Speeches, and his Pen with Remonstrances, whilst the Parliament was laying in Stores of Money, Ammunition, &c. and so strongly reinforced the Garrison at *Hull*, that Sir *John Hotbom* was in no Fear of an Assault, but was in a better Condition to attack and take *York*, than the King was to take *Hull*.

May 4, 1642, the King published an Answer to the Declaration, Votes, and Order of Assistance of both Houses of Parliament concerning the Magazine at *Hull*, which ends thus:

“We conclude with Master *Pym*’s own Words, *If the Prerogative of the King overwhelm the Liberty of the People, it will be turned to Tyranny; if Liberty undermine the Prerogative, it will grow into Anarchy, and so we may say into Confusion.*”

His Majesty had sent out a Summons to the *Yorkshire* Gentry to meet him at the City of *York* on the 12th of this Month, and accordingly, they being assembled together to the Number of 4000, his Majesty spoke to them as follows: *

Gentlemen,

I Have Cause of adding, not altering, what I meant to say to you. When I gave out the Summons for this Day’s Appearance, I little thought of these Messengers, or of such a Message as they brought, the which (because it confirms me in what I intend to speak, and that I desire you should be truly informed of all Passages between me and the Parliament) you shall hear read, first my Answer to the Declaration of both Houses concerning *Hull*; the Answer of the Parliament to my two Messages concerning *Hull*; together with my Reply to the same, and my Message to both Houses, declaring the Reasons why I refused to pass the Bill concerning the Militia.

All which being read, his Majesty proceeded,

I will make no Paraphrases upon what you have heard, it more befitting a Lawyer than a King, only this Observation, since Treason is countenanced so near me, it is

* This Speech was printed at *York* by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, and by the Assigns of *John Bill*, 1642.

Time to look to my Safety. I avow it is Part of my Wonder that Men (whom I thought heretofore discreet and moderate) should have undertaken this Employment; and that since they came (I having delivered them the Answer you have heard, and commanded them to return personally with it to the Parliament) should have flatly disobeyed in Pretence of the Parliament's Commands. My End in telling you this is to warn you of them; for since these Men have brought me such a Message, and disobeyed so lawful a Command, I will not say what their Intent of staying here is, only I bid you take Heed, not knowing what Doctrine of Disobedience they may preach to you under Colour of obeying the Parliament. Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the enjoying of which was a chief Cause of my coming hither, (Tumults and Disorders having made me leave the South) and not to make this a Seat of War, as Malice would (but I hope in vain) make you believe. Now if Disturbances come, I know who I have Reason to suspect.

To be short; you see that my Magazine is going to be taken from me, (being my own proper Goods) directly against my Will. The Militia (against Law and my Consent) is going to be put in Execution; and lastly, Sir *John Hotham's* Treason is countenanced. All this considered, none can blame me to apprehend Dangers; therefore I have thought fit upon these real Grounds to tell you that I am resolved to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon Imaginary Jealousies) only to secure my Person. In which I desire your Concurrence and Assistance, and that I may be able to protect you, the Laws, and the true Protestant Profession from any Affront or Injury that may be offered, which I mean to maintain myself without Charge to the Country, intending no longer to keep them on Foot, than I shall be secured of just Apprehensions, by having Satisfaction in the Particulars aforementioned.

This Speech was taken into Consideration by two different Parties; the Republicans of the County met the High Sheriff at the Dean's House, and subscribed an Answer to his Majesty's Propositions, wherein "they desired

desired his Majesty to throw himself intirely upon his Parliament, of whose loyal Care and Affection to his Majesty's Honour and Safety they were most confident. That the Gentlemen who were lately employed to attend his Majesty from both Houses, were Men of Quality and Estates in this County, and trusted to serve in that most honourable Assembly. They humbly craved Leave to express their Confidence in their unstained Loyalty and Affection to his Majesty, as his Majesty may securely admit their Attendance to negotiate their Employments, until they be recalled by the Parliament. And for their Fidelity they did all engage themselves to his Majesty, and were most assured, that his Royal Person would be secure in the general Fidelity of his Subjects in this County without any extraordinary Guard."

At the Head of the Subscribers to this Answer was Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; it was delivered to the King by the High Sheriff, and by whom his Majesty returned this short Answer:

His Majesty expects the like Affection from you, that be doth from the other Gentlemen; and that he hath the same Confidence in you that he hath in them.

But the loyal Party, being much more numerous convened themselves, and agreed upon the following Declaration:

WE the Knights and Gentlemen, whose Names are subscribed, do unanimously present this our Answer to your Majesty's Propositions concerning the raising of a Guard of Horse for the Security and Defence of your sacred Person.

To which Proposition, as we conceive ourselves bound by Allegiance, do willingly concur: For the Purpose humbly desiring that the aforesaid may be raised by legal Authority; and likewise that it may consist of Persons unquestionable in their Religion, and Gentlemen.

* Sir *Richard Hutton*, of *Goldfburgh*, Knight, was High Sheriff of the County this Year (1642.)

The Substance of his Majesty's Answer to this was,

His Majesty gave them Thanks, for it appeared as a satisfactory Answer, and in it they had shewed great Circumspection and Wisdom, by choosing such whose Loyalty could not be questioned, and by excluding Recusants, and all suspected to be disaffected.

Immediately upon this 200 young Gentlemen of this County voluntarily listed themselves into a Troop, under the Command of the Prince of Wales, whose Lieutenant-Colonel was Sir Francis Wortley. His Majesty had also a Regiment of 700 Foot of the Trained-Bands, commanded by Sir Robert Strickland. This small Armament the King constantly caused to be paid every Saturday at his own Charge, when he had little more than would defray the Expences of his own Table, which was kept with all the Parsimony imaginable, the Prince and Duke not having Tables apart, as was usual, but eating at his Majesty's. The Court was kept at this Time at old Sir Arthur Ingram's House in the Minster-Yard, and not in the Manor. *

For the Favour and Affection shewn him by the Yorkshire Gentry, his Majesty directed the following Letter to them.

To our Right Trusty and Well-beloved the Gentry of York, and others of this our County of York, whom it doth or may concern. †

WE have, with great Contentment, considered your dutiful and affectionate Answer to our Proposition concerning the unsufferable Affront we received at Hull. We have not been deceived in that Confidence we have had in your Affection; wherefore we desire you to assure the rest of your Countrymen, who, thro' Negligence, were omitted to be summoned, that we shall never abuse your Love by any Power wherewith God shall enable us, to the least Violation of the least of your Liberties, or the Diminution of those Immunities which we have granted you this Parliament, though they be beyond the Acts of most, if not all, our Predecessors;

VOL. I.

B b

being

* Ex MS.

† Printed at York by the King's Printers, 1642.

being resolved with a constant and firm Resolution to have the Law of this Land duly observed, and shall endeavour only so to preserve our just Royal Rights as may enable us to protect our Kingdom and People, according to the antient Honours of the Kings of *England*, and according to the Trust which by the Law of God and this Land is put into the Crown; being sufficiently warned by the late Affront at *Hull* not to transfer the same out of our Power. Concerning which Affront we will take some Time to advise which Way we may usefully employ your Affections; in the mean Time we shall take it well from all such as shall personally attend us, so followed and provided as they shall think fit, for the better Safety of our Person, because we know not what sudden Violence or Affront may be offered to us, having lately received such an actual Testimony of rebellious Intentions as Sir *John Hotham* hath expressed at *Hull*. Being thus secured by your Affections and Assistance, we promise you our Protection from any contrary Power whatever, and that you shall not be molested for your humble and modest Petition, as of late you have been threatened.

Given at our Court at York, May 16, 1642.

The small Army in the North, raised for Defence of the King's Person, made a great Noise in the South, and the Parliament laid hold of the Occasion to declare that the King was levying Forces to subdue them; and now came out thundering Pamphlets to instil Fears and Jealousies into the People, one of which was published by their own Authority, with this dreadful Title:

Horrible News from York, Hull, and Newcastle, concerning the King's Majesty's Intent to take up Arms against the Parliament:

With his Majesty's Threatnings to imprison the Lord Fairfax, Sir Philip Stapleton, and the rest of the Committee appointed by the Parliament to sit at York, and the joint Votes of both Houses concerning the same:

Also the Lord Stamford's Report to the Parliament concerning the Danger of Hull, and his Majesty's Resolutions to take up Arms.

Imprim. J. Q. BROWN, Cler. Parl.

This

This Blow was occasioned by a Letter sent from the before-named Gentlemen, the Parliament's Committee at York, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, together with a Copy of the King's last Speech to the Gentry of *Yorkshire*, and the different Resolutions upon it. As this Letter gives a particular Account of the Transactions at this Meeting, and because it betrays them to be what the King really took them for, *viz.* Spies upon his Actions, we shall give, *verbatim*, as follows: *

S I R,

IN our last Letter we gave you an Account of our first and second Waiting on the King. We writ to you then that his Majesty commanded us to attend him Yesterday, being *Thursday*, to hear what he said to the Gentlemen, which a little before the Meeting he seconded by a particular Message; being come thither his Majesty caused the several Messages between him and the Parliament, mentioned in this inclosed printed Paper, to be read.

This was done with much Humming and Applause of the King's Messages, by some Persons who had placed themselves near about where the King stood; but when any Thing from the Parliament came to be read, with so much hissing and reviling the Parliament, that tho' in Respect and Duty to the King's Person, we could not resent it as otherways we should have done, yet we have since expostulated and complained of it to his Majesty. Some were so bold as to say openly, that *the Parliament Men should set their Houses in Order, for many of them should shortly have their Heads off.* One of which, as since we are credibly informed, was one *Hurst*, a Servant to one Mr. *William Crofts*. In this which was said by the King, you will see what Reason we had to vindicate ourselves; and therefore we immediately repaired to the Dean's House with all the other Gentlemen, and there we took Notice of the rough Usage we had received; we told them that it was neither Indiscretion nor Disobedience in us, (as his Majesty was pleased to call it) to deliver the Parliament's Message, or to stay here,

B b 2

though

* From a Pamphlet printed at London, 1642, by Authority. This Letter is also in *Rushworth*, *sub hoc Anno*.

though commanded to the contrary; since we conceived no Man needed to be satisfied in so clear a Case as this, that every Member of each House ought to obey their Commands when they were pleased to employ them: But since his Majesty thought fit to bid them take Heed of us, not knowing what Doctrine of Disobedience we might preach to them, we appealed to every Man, whether we had in Word or Deed, in public or in private, done any Thing that became not honest Men, and Persons employed from the Parliament: That we had communicated our Instructions to his Majesty, being that we would avow all our Actions, and that we were confident it would not be said we had transgressed them. This was very well taken and justified by the Country. Yesterday there came divers Thousands of Freeholders to this City, though none but the Gentry were summoned; but receiving a Command from the King not to come to Court, they forbore and staid in the Castle-Yard, yet sent this Petition * inclosed from his Majesty, and received the Answer annexed thereunto. There was likewise a Committee of twelve Gentlemen appointed Yesternight to consider of drawing up an Answer to the King's Proposition concerning a Guard; but nothing could be done then, because it was past Three o'Clock before the Gentlemen were admitted to the King. This Morning the Freeholders assembled again in the Castle-Yard, and there they made this Protestation inclosed, of their Right of voting in what concerneth the Peace of the Country, as having their Interest therein.

When we all met this Morning at the Dean's House, we who are your Committees received this Message by Sir *Edward Stanhope*, That he came from his Majesty to command us that we should depart from this Meeting, and if we did stay, his Majesty would judge us guilty of that he spoke on Yesterday, which was *Tampering*. Notwithstanding which Command we read the fourth Article of our Instructions to the whole Company, that being pertinent to the Business we were then upon, and desired them to consider, whether the Parliament had not expressed therein such a Care of the King's Safety

* The Petition, Answer, and Protestation are too long to be inserted here.

that there would be little Need of Guards. We told them we had a good Right of being there as Freeholders of the County; but that, in Obedience to the King, we would depart for this Time; but whensoever there should be Occasion for our being there, in Pursuance of our Instructions and Commands from the Parliament, we should be ready. The whole Company expressed great Satisfaction, and desired a Copy of that Instruction, which we gave them. We were the more willing at that Time to go from thence, because we should not only give Obedience to the King's Command, which otherways he would have said we constantly disobeyed, but because the Committee of twelve appointed Yesterday were then to withdraw, so that there was nothing for the present for us to do. We immediately went to the King and besought him, that since we were continually so discountenanced by him in the Face of our Country, that he would be pleased to let us know in particular wherein we had given the Occasion; for we otherways conceived we were deprived of that Liberty, which was our Due in respect of that Interest we had here. His Majesty was pleased to tell us, that if we would lay aside that Condition of Committees from the Parliament, he would not hinder us to be there as Gentlemen of the Country; we humbly replied that we could not lay that down; nor could we be absent from any Meeting where our Presence was required for the Service as Committees from the Parliament; to which his Majesty said, That indeed he thought we could not lay it down, neither was it reasonable that we should have Votes and be in a double Capacity.

The Committee hath been together most Part of this Day; but, not agreeing, six of them have drawn up this Answer inclosed, which they have communicated to the Gentlemen and Freeholders. The greater Part of the Gentlemen and all the Freeholders have agreed to and subscribed it. The other six have concluded upon this other Answer, consenting to a Guard of Horse; but this we do not hear they have gotten many Names to, nor can we get a Copy of those Names as yet, tho' these be very few; yet whether they can bring in any Horse or no, we cannot yet judge. The King has received both these Resolutions, which, with his Answers

to them, you have likewise here inclosed. His Majesty had declared himself Yesterday that he would raise the Regiment which was Sir Robert Strickland's for his Foot Guard, but he hath now laid aside that Resolution. The Freeholders of the County are now newly summoned to attend his Majesty about a Week hence, the three Ridings on three several Days, but for what Service we do not know.

Sir, you have here a large Narrative of the Passages at this Meeting, what Dangers this poor Country lies under we humbly refer it to you to judge, not taking upon us to deliver any Opinion. The Business lasted so long that it hindered us from giving a more speedy Account. Sir, this is what at this Time is sent from

Your assured Friends and Servants,

York, Maii 13, }
1642. }

FER. FAIRFAX,
HU. CHOLMLEY,
PHILIP STAPLETON,
HE. CHOLMLEY.

The Parliament, to secure their Committee from Imprisonment, now thought fit to pass this Order against it.

"That whosoever should offer to attach and imprison any Members of both the Houses employed in their Service, it should be held as a high Breach of the Privileges of Parliaments."

May 20, 1642, the Portuguese Ambassador came to York; and what added exceedingly to the King's Satisfaction, Sir Edward Littleton, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, by an excellent Management, brought off that important Mark of Sovereignty, as well as himself, safe to his Master.

About this Time the King gave Notice to the Lord-Keeper at London to issue forth Writs for the Adjournment of the next Term to York, but this was obstructed by a Vote of the House.

Many of the Peers now left their Seats in Parliament, and came to pay their Duty to the King at York. A List of which Noblemen, as it was then printed at London, with a Design to blacken them, is as follows:

The Lord-Keeper; Duke of Richmond; Marquisses of Hertford and Hamilton; the Earls of Cumberland, Bath,
South-

Southampton, Dorset, Salisbury, Northampton, Devonshire, Carlisle, Clare, Westmoreland, Monmouth, Lindsey, Newcastle, Dover, Carnarvan, Newport, and Thanet; the Lords Mowbray, Strange, Willoughby, Longaville, Rich, Andover, Faulkonbridge, Lovelace, Paulet, Newark, Coventry, Savile, Dunsmore, Seymour, and Capell.

The Parliament presented a Petition * to his Majesty at York concerning the disbanding of his Guard; intimating, "That under Colour of raising a Guard (which considering the Fidelity and Care of his Parliament there can be no Use for) his Majesty hath commanded Troops both of Horse and Foot to assemble at York, and which is a just Cause of great Jealousy and Danger to the whole Kingdom.

"They therefore humbly beseech his Majesty to disband all such Forces, and rely for his Security, as his Predecessors had done, on the Affections of his People; otherways they should hold themselves bound in Duty towards God, and the Trust reposed in them by the People, to employ their Care and utmost Power to secure the Parliament, and preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom."

Along with their Petition they sent his Majesty three Resolutions of Parliament, viz.

Die Veneris Maii 20, 1642, Resolved upon the Question,

First, "That it appears that the King (seduced by wicked Counsel) intends to make War against the Parliament, who, in all their Consultations and Actions, have proposed no other End unto themselves but the Care of his Kingdoms, and the Performance of all Duty and Loyalty to his Person.

Secondly, "That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People, and contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of this Government.

Thirdly,

* Out of a Quarto Book published at London, 1643, intituled, *An exact Collection of all Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Orders, Ordinances, Proclamations, Petitions, Messages, Answers, and other remarkable Passages between the King's Most Excellent Majesty and his High Court of Parliament, from December 1641 to March 1643.*

Thirdly, " That whosoever shall serve or assist him in such Wars, are Traitors by the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been so adjudged by two Acts of Parliament *, and ought to suffer as Traitors. †

His MAJESTY's Answer.

WE cannot but extremely wonder that the causeless Jealousies concerning us, raised and fomented by a malignant Party in this Kingdom, which desire nothing more than to snatch themselves particular Advantages out of a general Combustion, (which Means of Advantage shall never be administered to them by our Fault or seeking) should not only be able to seduce a weak Party in this our Kingdom, but seem to find so much Countenance even from both Houses, as that our raising of a Guard (without further Design than for the Safety of our Person, an Action so legal in Manner, so peaceable upon Causes so evident and necessary) should not only be looked upon and petitioned against by them, as a causeless Jealousy, but declared to be the raising of a War against them, contrary to our former Professions of our Care of Religion and Law: And we no less wonder that this Action of ours should be said (in a very large Expression) to be apprehended by the Inhabitants of this Country, as an Affrightment and Disturbance to our People, having been as well received here, as it is every where to be justified; and (we speak now of the general, not of a few seduced Particulars) assisted and sped by this Country, with that loyal Affection and Alacrity, as is a most excellent Example set to the rest of the Kingdom, of Care of our Safety upon all Occasions, and shall never be forgotten by us, nor we hope by our Posterity; but shall ever be paid to them in that which the proper Expression of a Prince's Gratitude, and perpetual vigilant Care to govern them justly, and to preserve the only Rule by which they can be governed, the Law of the Land. And we are confident, that if you were yourselves Eye-witnesses, you would so see the contrary, as to give little present Thanks, and hereafter little Credit to your Informers: And if you have
no

* 11 Ric. II. 1 Hen. IV.

† These Votes and some old Acts of Parliament, taken out of the Records of the Tower, were ordered to be printed.

Jo. Brown, Cleric. *Parliamentorum*, Collection, &c

no better Intelligence of the Inclinations of the rest of the Kingdom, certainly the Minds of our People (which to some Ends and Purposes you represent) are but ill represented unto you.

Have you so many Months together not contented yourselves to rely for Security, (as your Predecessors have done upon the Affection of the People, but by your own single Authority raised to yourselves a Guard, and that sometimes of no ordinary Numbers, and in no ordinary Way) and could not all those Pikes and Protections, that Army on one Side and that Navy on the other, persuade us to command you to disband your Forces, and to content yourselves with your ordinary (that is with no) Guard, and work in us an Opinion, that you appeared to levy War against us, or had any further Design? And is it possible that the same Persons should be so apt to suspect and condemn us who have been so unapt in the same Matter (upon much more Ground) to tax or suspect them? This is our Case, notwithstanding the Care and Fidelity of our Parliament, our Fort is kept by armed Men against us, our proper Goods first detained from us, and then, contrary to our Command, by strong Hand offered to be carried away (in which at once all our Property as a private Person, all our Authority as a King, are wrested from us) and yet for us to secure ourselves in a legal Way, that Sir John Hotham may not by the same Forces, or by more raised, by Pretence of the same Authority, (for they say he daily raiseth some, and we know it no new Thing in him to pretend Orders he cannot shew) continue the War that he hath levied against us, and as well imprison our Person as detain our Goods, and as well shut us up in *York* as shut us out of *Hull*, is said to be esteemed a Cause of great Jealousy to the Parliament, a raising War against them, and of Danger to the whole Kingdom. While these Injuries and Indignities offered to us are countenanced by them who ought to be most forward in our Vindication and their Punishment, in Observation of their Oaths and of the Trust reposed in them by the People, and to avoid the Dissolution of the present Government. Upon which Case the whole World is to judge, whether we had not Reason not wholly to rely upon the Care and Fidelity of our Parliament, (being so strangely blinded

blinded by malignant Spirits as not to perceive our Injuries) but to take some Care of our own Person, and in order to that to make Use of that Authority which the Laws declare to be in us; and whether this Parliament, with such a threatening Conclusion, accompanied with more threatening Votes, gives us not Cause rather to increase than diminish our Guard; especially since we saw before the Petition a printed Paper dated *May 17*, underwritten *Hem. Elsing, Cler. D. Com.* commanding, in the Name of both Lords and Commons, the Sheriffs of all our Counties to raise the Power of all those Counties, to suppress such of our Subjects as, by any of our Commands, shall be drawn together, and put, as that Paper calls it, in a Posture of War, charging our Officers and Subjects to assist them in the Performance thereof at their Perils: For though we cannot suspect that this Paper (or any bare Votes not grounded upon Law or Reason, or Quotations of repealed Statutes) should have any ill Influence upon our good People, who know their Duties too well not to know that to take up Arms against those who upon a legal Command (that is ours) come together to a most legal End (that is our Security and Preservation) were to levy War against us, and who appear in this County (and we are confident they are so throughout the Kingdom) no less satisfied with the Legality, Conveniency, and Necessity of these our Guards, and no less sensible of the Indignities and Dangers (which makes it necessary) than we ourself: Yet if that Paper be really the Act of both Houses, we cannot but look upon it as the highest of Scorns and Indignities; first to issue Commands of Force against us, and, after those have appeared useless, to offer, by Petition, to persuade us to that which that Force should have effected.

We conclude this Answer to your Petition with our Counsel to you, that you join with us in exacting Satisfaction for that unparalleled, and yet unpunished, Action of Sir *John Hotbam's*; and that you command our Fort and Goods to be returned to our own Hands; that you lay down all Pretences (under Pretence of Necessity or declaring what is Law) to make Laws without us, and, by Consequence, put a Cypher upon us; that you declare effectually against Tumults, and call in such

Pamphlets

Pamphlets (punishing the Authors and Publishers of them) as seditiously endeavour to disable us from protecting our People by weakening (by false Aspersions and new false Doctrines) our Authority with them, and their Confidence in us; the Particulars of which Tumults and Pamphlets we would long since have taken Care that our learned Counsel should have been enabled to give in Evidence, if, upon our former Offer, we had received any Return of Encouragement from you in it; and if you do this, you then (and hardly till then) will persuade the World that you have discharged your Duty to God, the Trust reposed in you by the People, and the fundamental Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, and employed your Care and utmost Power to secure the Parliament, (for we are still a Part of the Parliament, and shall be till this well-founded Monarchy be turned to a Democracy) and to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom; which together with the Defence of the Protestant Profession, the Laws of the Land, and our own just Prerogative (as a Part of, and a Defence to those Laws) have been the main End which in our Consultations and Actions we proposed to ourself.

This Message of the King's to the Parliament was followed by a Proclamation, forbidding all his Majesty's Subjects belonging to the Trained-Bands or Militia of this Kingdom, to rise, march, muster, or exercise, by Virtue of any Order or Ordinance of one or both Houses of Parliament, without Consent or Warrant from his Majesty, upon Pain of Punishment according to the Law.

Dated at the Court at York the 27th of May, 1642.

In Answer to this came out an Order from the Parliament, directed to all High Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers within 150 Miles of the City of York, to take special Care to stop all Arms and Ammunition carrying towards York, and the apprehending of all Persons going with the same.

On the 27th of May, 1642, the King issued out a Proclamation, requiring all Ministers, Freeholders, Farmers, and substantial Copyholders, to assemble and meet together on *Heworth-Moor* near the City of York, on Friday the 3d of June following. Accordingly, on the Day appointed,

appointed, a vast Multitude of them appeared, to the Number of 70,000, some say 100,000, and waited his Majesty's Appearance. * About Eleven o'Clock the King came to the Moor, accompanied with a great Number of Lords and Knights of great Quality. His Majesty had appointed 800 Foot, compleatly armed, to guard his Person. The Prince also led a Troop of Horse, consisting of 150 Knights, with Esquires and Gentlemen, which, with Servants, all armed, made another Troop.

As soon as his Majesty came near the Moor the People saluted him with three loud Huzzas; and being come to them, and as much Silence made as possible his Majesty made a Speech, which, being printed at large in Lord *Clarendon*, is here omitted. The Speech ended, the King rode round the Moor with a prodigious Croud following him, with loud Acclamations of *God bless the King* †. And having surveyed all the Field he returned to his Palace attended by great Part of the said Company, who, seeing him safe within his Court Gates, gave another loud Huzza and left him.

About this Time came down to *York* to the King, the humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament, with nineteen Propositions annexed; all which, with his Majesty's Answer, are inserted in Lord *Clarendon*'s History.

His Majesty thought fit to make a Declaration to the Lords attending him at *York*, and to others of his Majesty's Privy Council there, in these Words: †

CHARLES R.

WE do declare that we will not require nor exact any Obedience from you, but shall be warranted by the known Law of the Land; as we do expect that you shall not yield to any Commands not legally grounded, or imposed by any other.

And we do further declare that we will defend everyone of you, and all such as shall refuse any such Commands, whether they proceed from Votes and Orders of both Houses, or any other Way, from all Dangers and Hazards whatsoever.

* Out of a Pamphlet printed at *London*, 1642, by Authority of Parliament.

† *Ex MS.*

‡ From the Collection of Public Acts.

And we do further declare, that we will defend the true Protestant Religion, established by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, and just Privileges of all the three Estates of Parliament; and shall require no further Obedience from you, than as accordingly we shall perform the same.

And we do declare, that we will not, as is falsely pretended, engage you, or any of you, in any War against the Parliament, except it be for our necessary Defence and Safety against such as do insolently invade or attempt against us, or such as shall adhere to us.

York, 13 Junii, 1642.

Upon which the Lords entered into the following Engagement:

WE do engage ourselves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land.

We do engage ourselves to defend your Majesty's Person, Crown and Dignity, together with your Majesty's just and legal Prerogative, against all Persons and Power whatsoever.

We will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, and just Privileges of your Majesty and both your Houses of Parliament.

And lastly, we engage ourselves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatsoever concerning the *Militia*, that hath not the Royal Assent.

York, June 13, 1642.

This Engagement was subscribed by the Lord Keeper, Duke of *Richmond*, Marquis of *Hereford*; Earls of *Lindsey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntingdon*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorset*, *Salisbury*, *Northampton*, *Devonshire*, *Cambridge*, *Bristol*, *Westmoreland*, *Berkshire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcastle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvon*, *Newport*; the Lords *Mowbray* and *Maltravers*, *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, *Rich*, *Charles Howard* of *Charlton*, *Newark*, *Paget*, *Chandos*, *Faulconbridge*, *Paulet*, *Lovelace*, *Savile*, *Coventry*, *Mobun*, *Dunsmore*, *Seymour*, *Gray* of *Ruthin*, *Capell*, *Falkland*; Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Chief Justice *Banks*. In all 40 Lords, besides the Great Officers.

By this it appears that the Court at *York* was exceedingly splendid at this Time, nor were the King's Affairs so desperate, though the Parliament had seized upon his Revenues and Magazine, but that, by the Help of these loyal Noblemen, he might make Head against them. Many of these Noble Lords lost their Lives in his Service, and more their Estates, which the Pen of their Fellow-Sufferer in these Troubles has recorded, and painted their Characters in such lively Colours, that latest Posterity may have a strong Idea of their unshaken Loyalty and unblemished Worth.

Two Days after the Date of the former Act his Majesty thought proper to publish a solemn Protestation, wherein *he takes God to witness that he always did abhor the Thoughts of making War upon his Parliament, and requires the Nobility and Council upon the Place to declare whether they have not been Witnesses of his frequent and earnest Declarations and Professions for Peace: Whether they see any Colour of Preparations or Councils that might reasonably beget a Belief of any such Design: And whether they be not fully persuaded that he hath no such Intention; but that all his Endeavours tend to the firm and constant Settlement of the true Protestant Religion, the just Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Prosperity of this Kingdom.*

To which Declarations the Noble Lords, &c. subjoined the following:

WE whose Names are underwritten, in Obedience to his Majesty's Desire, and out of the Duty we owe to his Majesty's Honour, and to Truth, being here upon the Place, and Witnesses of his Majesty's frequent and earnest Declarations and Professions of his abhorring all Designs of making War upon his Parliament, and not seeing any Colour of Preparations or Councils that might reasonably create the Belief of any such Design, do profess before God, and testify to all the World, that we are fully persuaded that his Majesty hath no such Intention; but that all his Endeavours tend to the firm and constant Settlement of the true Protestant Religion, the just Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace, and Prosperity of this Kingdom. Subscribed as before.

York, June 15, 1642.

These

These Declarations and solemn Asseverations of the King, backed with the Testimonies of so many Noble Patriots who stood up in his Justification, at a Time when it was not possible that either Interest or Awe should sway them to it, will be a lasting Monument of his Majesty's peaceable Intentions; and the following Petition*, subscribed and consented to, as the Paper witnesses, by all the Nobility of *Yorkshire*, forty Baronets and Knights, many Esquires, and other Persons of Distinction, is an undeniable Proof that he was forced into a War with his Parliament, who committed the first Acts of Hostility.

To the Right Hon. the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition and Remonstrance of the Nobility and Gentry of the County of York,

Sheweth,

THAT this County is extremely perplexed, by Reason of the publick Acts of Hostility committed by Sir *John Hotbom* and the Garrison at *Hull*, to the great Disturbance of the Peace of this County, threatening no less than the Ruin and Destruction of it. That the first putting a Garrison into that Town, was pretended to be to defend it against the Papists at home, and the Invasion of foreign Enemies. Since that Time the Gates have been shut against our gracious Sovereign, and Entrance denied to his own Royal Person; several Persons have been thrown out of the Town, and expelled from their own Freeholds and Personal Estates; and some Part of the Country is drowned by Sir *John Hotbom*, to the utter Ruin of many Families; Sallies have been made with armed Men, who have burned and plundered Houses, and murdered their Fellow-Subjects, when we were confident of a Cessation) with all the Circumstances of Rage and Cruelty, which used to be contracted by a long and bloody War. After all this, his Majesty (who keeps his Residence here with all the Demonstrations of Care and Affection towards us) graciously forbears to lay any Siege to that Place, and hath declared

C c 2

clared

* Imprinted at York by the King's Printers, 1642.

clared to us, that, by no Act of his, this County shall be made a Seat of War; and yet by the new Supply of Soldiers taken into *Hull*, and the late Actions there, (which we conceive to be manifestly against the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, the Petition of Right, and the late Protestation) we have Cause to fear that some Violence is intended both against our Persons and our Fortunes.

The Premises considered, we cannot but be infinitely jealous, that Sir *John Hotham* cannot derive his Authority to commit such barbarous Acts of Hostility from the two Houses of Parliament, from whom we expect all the Effects of happy Peace, and Preservation of our Laws and Liberties.

We humbly desire therefore to know, whether these Outrages are done by your Authority, and whether this Country must be subject to that Garrison, that we may thereupon provide in such a Manner for our Safeties, that these Injuries, Violences, and Oppressions, be no longer imposed upon us by our Fellow-Subjects; that we may be all liable to the known Laws of the Land, to which we are born, and which is the only Security and Evidence we have for our Lives and Fortunes.

This Petition hath several particular Instances of Sir *John Hotham's* Depredations annexed to it, which, for Brevity's Sake, we omit, and proceed to the rest of King *Charles's* publick Acts whilst he kept his Court at *York*, which, though they deserve a more particular Mention, yet the Nature of our Subject will not admit us to do more than just transcribe their Dates and Titles. *

“His Majesty's Answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, presented to his Majesty at *York*, June 17, 1642.”

“By the King. A Proclamation forbidding all Levies of Forces without his Majesty's express Pleasure, signified under his Great Seal, and all Contributions or Assistance to any such Levy. Given at the Court at *York*, June 18, in the 18th Year of our Reign, 1642.”

“By the King. A Proclamation to inform all our loving Subjects of the Lawfulness of our Commissions of Array, issued into the several Counties of the Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and of the Use of them, and

* From the Collection of Publick Acts, &c.

and commanding them to obey our Commissioners therein named in the Execution of their said Commissions. Given at our Court at York, June 20, An. Reg. 18, 1642."

"A Copy of a Warrant from the King's Most Excellent Majesty, directed unto the High Sheriff of the County of York, for summoning of all Gentlemen and others, being Protestants, who are charged with Horses for his Majesty's Service, or have listed themselves, to attend personally for his Majesty's Security, to make their Appearance at York on Thursday the 7th of July, 1642. Dated at York, June 30, 1642."

"His Majesty's Answer to the Declaration of both Houses of Parliament concerning the Commission of Array. Dated York, July 1, 1642."

"The King's Majesty's Charge sent to all the Judges of England, to be published in their respective Circuits by his Majesty's special Command. Given at our Court at York, July 4, 1642."

"By the King. A Proclamation against the forcible seizing and removing any the Magazine or Ammunition of any County, and concerning the Execution of the Militia within this Kingdom. Dated York, July 4, 1642."

"By the King. A Proclamation forbidding all relieving or succouring the Town of Kingston upon Hull against his Majesty. Dated York, Die predicta."

"His Majesty's Message to both Houses of Parliament, July 11, with the Proclamation ensuing."

"By the King. A Proclamation declaring our Purpose to go in our Royal Person to Hull, and the true Occasion and End thereof."

And now, the Winds blowing high, the Flame that had long laid smothered broke out; the Parliament had passed Votes for raising an Army, naming a General, &c. and the King, after making a short Expedition to Nottingham and Leicester, returned to York, where he had summoned the Yorkshire Gentry to attend him.

Accordingly, August 4, the Heads of the County attended his Majesty at York, where this unfortunate Prince took his last Leave of them in a pathetick and moving Speech; which, because it will be a lasting Testimony of the County's and City's Loyalty to their Sovereign,

we shall give *verbatim*; and the rather, because it is wholly omitted by Lord *Clarendon*, *Echard*, and every other Historian of those Times that we have seen, except the Compiler of the Collections before quoted.

Gentlemen,

WHEN I directed that Summons should be sent out for your meeting here this Day, my principal End was, that I might give you Thanks for the great Forwardness and Expressions you have made of your Affections to me since I came into this County; and to assure you, that as the whole Kingdom hath great Reason to value you exceedingly for it, so I shall be very unsatisfied, till I have found some Way to fix a Mark of Favour and Estimation upon this County and this People, which may tell Posterity how good Subjects you have been, and how much Gentlemen; and I am confident the Memory of it will grow up with my Sons too in a just Acknowledgment. This was the most I intended to say to you; but there is an unquiet Spirit abroad, which every Day throws in new Accidents to disturb and confound the Publick Peace. How I was driven from *London*, when I chose *this Place* for my Safety, is so notorious that all Men know it, who know any Thing. With what strange Violences and Indignities I have been pursued since I came hither, needs no other Evidence than Sir *John Hotbam's* Behaviour at *Hull*, who is now arrived to that Insolence, that he will not suffer his Treason to be confined longer within the Walls, but makes Sallies out of the Town upon his Fellow-Subjects, drowns their Lands, burns and plunders their Houses, murders, and, with unheard-of Cruelties, torments their Persons; and this with so much Delight, that he would not have the Patience to wait what Answer should be sent to my just Demands, though in that Respect I engaged myself to forbear to use any Violence, and kept my Word; but chose the Night before that came (as if he well knew what Answer I was to receive) to act those Outrages.

You see the sad Effects of Fears and Jealousies, the Miseries they have produced; no Man can tell you the least Good they have brought forth, or the least Evil they have prevented. What Inconvenience my Presence hath been here, what Disturbance it hath brought upon

the Publick, or Grievance upon any private Person, yourselves are best Judges. And whatever Scandal some Men have been pleased to cast upon the *Cavaliers*, (which they intend shall reach all my Retinue, and by Degrees shall involve all Gentlemen) I am confident there hath not been any eminent Disorder or Damage befallen any Man, by any Person of my Train, or under my Protection.

I am sure my Directions have been very strict in that Point, and if they had not been observed, I think I should have heard of it by nearer Complaints than from *London*. I pray God the same Care may be taken there: I am sure it hath not been.

Now, to give you the fullest Testimony of my Affection to you and the Peace of this County, and to shew you that no Provocation shall provoke me to make this Place to be a Seat of War, I have for your Sakes passed over the Considerations of Honour; and, notwithstanding the Reproaches every Day laid on me, laid no Siege to that Place, that they may not have the least Pretence of doing you Mischief; but resolve, by God's Help, to recover *Hull* some other Way; for that I will ever sit down under so bold and inexcusable a Treason, no honest Man can imagine. But it seems other Men are not of my Mind, but resolve to make a War at your own Doors, whatsoever you do or I suffer. To what Purpose else is their new General armed with an Authority to kill and destroy all my good Subjects; their Levies of Horse and Foot, some whereof are on their March towards you with Cannon mounted; and the sending so many new Soldiers into *Hull*, when there is no Approach made towards it, but to sally out and commit Rapine, and, by Degrees, to pour out an Army upon you. In this I must ask your Advice what you would do for yourselves, and what you would have me do for you? You see how I am stript of my Navy at Sea, which is employed against me; of my Forts and Towns at Land, which are filled with armed Men to destroy me; my Money and Provisions of my House taken from me, and all my good Subjects forbid and threatned if they come near me, that I may, by Famine or Solitariness, be compelled to yield to the most dishonourable Propositions, and to put myself and Children into the Hands of a few malign-

malignant Persons, who have entered into a Combination to destroy us; and all this done under Pretence of a Trust reposed by the People. How far you are from committing any such Trust, most of the Persons trusted by you, and your own Expressions of Duty to me, hath manifested to all the World; and how far the whole Kingdom is from avowing such a Trust, hath already in a great Measure, and I doubt not will more every Day appear, by the Professions of every County; for I am wholly cast upon the Affections of my People, and have no Hope but in the Blessing and Assistance of God, the Justness of my Cause, and the Love of my Subjects to recover what is taken from me and them; for I may justly say they are equal Losers with me.

Gentlemen, I desire you to consider what Course is to be taken for your own Security from the Excursions from *Hull*, and the Violence which threatens you from thence; I will assist you any Way you propose. Next I desire you out of the publick Provision, or your private Store, to furnish me with such a Number of Arms, Musquets, and Corsets, as you may conveniently spare, which I do promise to see fully repaid to you. These Arms I desire may be speedily delivered to the Custody of my Lord Mayor of *York* for my Use, principally from those Parts, which, by Reason of their Distance from *Hull*, are least subject to the Fear of Violence from thence.

And whosoever shall so furnish me shall be excused from their Attendance and Service at Musters, till their Arms shall be restored; which may well be sooner than I can promise or you expect. I desire nothing of you but what is necessary to be done for the Preservation of God's true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very Being of this Kingdom of *England*; for it is too evident all these are at Stake.

For the compleating my Son's Regiment for the Guard of my Person, under the Command of my Lord of *Cumberland*, I refer it wholly to yourselves, who have already expressed such Forwardness in it.

A few more Acts of State occurred before his Majesty left *York*, which we shall cursorily mention in Order as they happened, till we come to the last; which being

a very memorable Proclamation, and the first of that Kind wherein his Majesty shewed himself resolved to fight, and bearing Date from hence, must find a Place in our Annals.

“ By the King. A Proclamation for the suppressing of the present Rebellion, under the Command of *Robert Earl of Essex*, and the gracious Offer of his Majesty's free Pardon to him, and all such of his Adherents, as shall within six Days after the Date hereof lay down their Arms. *Given at our Court at York, August 9, 1642.*”

“ By the King. A Proclamation declaring his Majesty's express Command, that no Popish Recusant, nor any other, who shall refuse to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, shall serve him in his Army; and that the Soldiery commit no Rapines upon the People, but be fitly provided of Necessaries for their Money.—*At the Court of York, August 10, 1642.*”

“ His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects concerning the Proceedings of this present Parliament. *York, August 12.*”

“ His Majesty's Message to the House of Commons from the Court at York, *August 12, 1642.*”

By the KING.

Whereas divers Persons, bearing an inward Hatred and Malice against our Person and Government, and ambitious of Rule and Places of Preferment and Command, have raised an Army, and are now traiterously and rebelliously (though under the specious Pretence of our Royal Name and Authority, and of the Defence of our Person and Parliament) marching in Battle Array against us their liege Lord and Sovereign, contrary to their Duty and Allegiance; whereby the common Peace is likely to be wholly destroyed, and this flourishing Kingdom in Danger to perish under the Miseries of a Civil War, if the Malice and Rage of these Persons be not instantly resisted. And as we do and must rely on Almighty God (the Protector and Defender of his Anointed) to defend us and our good People against the Malice and pernicious Designs of these Men, tending to the utter Ruin of our Person, the true Protestant Religion, the Laws established, the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and the very Being of Par-

Parliaments; so we doubt not but our good People will in this Necessity contribute unto us, with all Alacrity and Cheerfulness, their Assistance in their Persons, Servants, and Money, for the suppressing of the same Rebellion: And herein we cannot but with much Contentment of Heart acknowledge the Love and Affection of our Subjects of our County of *York*, and divers other Counties, in their free and ready Assistance of us, which we shall never forget, and our Posterity will, as we hope, ever remember for their Good.

Nevertheless, in this our extreme Necessity, though we have been most unwilling, we are enforced for our most just and necessary Defence, again to call and invite them and all other of our Subjects of the true Protestant Religion, residing on the North Side of *Trent*, or within twenty Miles Southward thereof, whose Hearts God Almighty shall touch with a true Sense and Apprehension of our Sufferings, and the ill Use which the Contrivers and Fomenters of this Rebellion have made of our Clemency and Desire of Peace, that according to their Allegiance, and as they tender the Safety of our Person, the Property of their Estates, their just Liberties, the true Protestant Religion, and Privileges of Parliament, and indeed the very Being of Parliaments, they attend our Person upon *Monday* the 22d of this instant *August*, at our Town of *Nottingham*, where and when we intend to erect our Standard-Royal in our just and necessary Defence, and whence we resolve to advance forward for the Suppression of the said Rebellion, and the Protection of our good Subjects amongst them, from the Burden of the Slavery and Insolence under which they cannot but groan till they be relieved by us.

And we likewise call and invite all our Subjects of the true Protestant Religion, in the remoter Parts of this our Kingdom, to whom Notice of this our Proclamation cannot so soon arrive, that with all Speed possible, as they tender the forenamed Considerations, they attend our Person in such Place as we shall then happen to encamp. And such of our said Subjects as shall come unto us (either to our said Town of *Nottingham*, or to any other Place where we shall encamp) armed and arrayed with Horse, Pistols, Muskets, Pikes, Corslets, Horses for Dragoons, or other fitting Arms and Furniture, we shall

shall take them into our Pay, such of them excepted who shall be willing as Volunteers to serve us in this our Necessity without Pay. And whosoever shall, in this our Danger and Necessity, supply us either by Gift, or Loan of Money, or Plate, for this our necessary Defence, (wherein they are also so nearly concerned) we shall, as soon as God shall enable us, repay whatsoever is lent, and upon all Occasions remember and reward those our good Subjects according to the Measure of their Love and Affections to us and their Country.

Given at our Court at York, the 12th Day of August, in the 18th Year of our Reign, 1642.

God save the KING.

After a Stay of five Months King *Charles* left *York*, in order to erect the Standard-Royal at *Nottingham*. Mr. *Lebard* says it would have been much more for the King's Service, if the Standard had been first erected at *York*, as having most of the Northern Counties at his Devotion. And it had been so, but that the Northern Gentry persuaded the King that the People's Fears were very great, lest their Country should be made a Seat of War, judging wrongly that the War would be no where but with the King's Army. But, after some Reflection, when the Time of the King's Departure drew near, they considered that the Garrison of *Hull* would be a Thorn in their Sides; that there were several Persons of Quality and Interest in the Country disaffected to his Majesty's Service; that a Member of the House of Commons * had declared in a Speech concerning *York*, that there was a Mark set upon that Place; therefore they desired his Majesty to constitute the Earl of *Cumberland* supreme Commander of the Country in all military Affairs, and appoint Sir *Thomas Glemham* to stay with them, and command those Forces the Earl should think necessary to raise for their Defence. In both which his Majesty readily gratified them.

Two of the principal Instruments the Parliament made use of to carry on the War in these Parts, lived in this County, and one in our Neighbourhood, which were *Ferdinando Lord Fairfax*, of *Denton*, and his Son Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, of *Nunappleton*. The Father has already

* Mr. *Hollis*.

ready been mentioned as a warm Man against the Court by bringing the Parliament's Message to the King about *Hull*; and the Son very early began to shew his Hatred to the Royal Cause, if we may believe his own Word in the short Memorial of his Life.

These two Gentlemen were almost the only Person of any considerable Quality in the County, who were not well disposed to his Majesty, and who were, says *Echara* influenced by two or three others of inferior Rank. The King had once resolved to have taken them all Prisoners before he left *York*, which had probably prevented the Mischiefs that ensued, but was persuaded from it by the Gentlemen of the Country.

Upon the King's Departure, *Sept. 2*, the Lord Mayor summoned all the Citizens, &c. to the Guildhall, where the Commission of *Henry Earl of Cumberland* was read, and, according to the Tenor of it, the City was immediately ordered to be put in a Posture of Defence, and Ordnance mounted on the Gates.

And now a cruel and bloody War began, which we shall pursue no farther than the Boundaries of the City will allow us, and in that District shall be very careful to let no memorable Event on either Side escape particular Notice, few Historians having thought fit to transmit our Affairs to Posterity.

At the first setting out, the Gentlemen of both Parties were so cautious of involving this County in a War, that a Treaty was set on Foot, and fourteen Articles agreed on betwixt them, by and with the Consent of *Henry Earl of Cumberland*, Lord Lieutenant-General of all his Majesty's Forces in the County of *York*, and *Ferdinando Lord Fairfax*. These Articles comprehended a Suspension of all military Actions and Preparations in this County on both Sides, which are too long to insert; but they were agreed to at *Rodwell*, *Sept. 29*, 1642, and signed by *Henry Bellasyse*, *William Savile*, *Edward Osborne*, *John Ramsden*, *Ingram Hopton*, and *Francis Newile*, of the King's Party; and *Thomas Fairfax*, *Thomas Manners*, *William Lister*, *William White*, *John Farrar*, and *John Stockdale*, of the other Party. But this amicable Treaty and Agreement was but of short Duration.

The War was entered into briskly on both Sides, but the Rebels had much the better of the Earl. Sir *Th*

Fairfax and *Capt. Hotbam*, Son to the Governor of *Hull*, had advanced so far against *York*, as to fortify *Tadcaster* and *Wetherby*; and had twice repulsed *Sir Thomas Glensham* in two furious Assaults he had made upon their Forces in the last-mentioned Town.

This made the *Yorkshire* Gentry send to desire the Earl of *Newcastle* to come to their Aid, who had levied considerable Forces in the North, and he accordingly made a speedy March to the City.

November 30, 1642, the Earl came to *York* with an Army of 6000 Horse and Foot, and ten Pieces of Ordnance. They were received with great Joy by the Citizens, but especially, says a Manuscript of that Time, by *Sir Edward Osborne* and *Sir Marmaduke Langdale*, the Agents for the rest of the Gentlemen on that Side of the Question in these Parts.

At the Earl of *Newcastle's* Arrival, the Earl of *Cumberland*, being of too peaceable a Disposition for the Spirits of the *Yorkshire* Gentry, says *Sir Thomas Fairfax**, resigned his Commission to him, who staid no longer in *York* than three Days to refresh his Men, and then marched out from thence with 4000 Horse and Foot and seven Pieces of Ordnance, in order to attack the Enemy's Intrenchments at *Tadcaster*. At the same Time the Lord General sent his Lieutenant-General, the Earl of *Newport*, to *Wetherby* with 2000 Men, and Commission, as soon as that Place was taken, to come and assist him by falling upon their Backs at *Tadcaster*.

The Lord General made his Attack upon the Enemy's Works about Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon; the Enemy had in their Trenches 2000 Men, as our Manuscript speaks, though *Sir Thomas* says only 700, which is scarce possible; they reserved their Shot till the Royalists came very near them, and then disposed of it to so good Purpose, that they were forced to retire and shelter themselves behind the Hedges. The Fight continued from the Time aforesaid till Four or Five in the Afternoon, with Cannon and Musket, without Intermision. Lord *Ferdinando*, in his Letter to the Parliament about this Action, writes, that, besides Cannon, at least 40,000 Musket-Shot were discharged on both Sides in this Conflict †. *Capt. Hotbam*, at the Beginning of the

Fight,

VOL. I.

D d

* *Fairfax's* Memoirs.

† Collection of Publick Acts.

Fight, wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Newport*, signed *Will. Newcastle*, and sent it by a Running Foot-Boy, to tell him that though his Commission was to come and assist him, yet he might now spare his Pains, and stay till he sent him Orders the next Morning *. This short Letter had the desired Effect; for though *Wetherby* was relinquished to the Parliament's Forces before Noon yet the Earl stopped his Proceedings, and waited for further Orders. *Newport's* not coming up was a great Discouragement to the Lord General and his Forces who nevertheless continued the Attack with great Bravery till Five in the Afternoon; when their Powder and Match being spent, they were obliged to desist till he had sent for a Supply from *York*, intending to renew the Assault next Morning; but in the Night Lord *Fairfax* drew off his Men to *Selby* and *Carwood*, and left the Earl free Possession of the Place. There were slain on both Sides about 300; but none of Note except one Capt. *Lister*, who was shot in the Head by a Musket Bullet †.

After this, *Sheffield*, *Wakefield*, *Leeds*, *Halifax*, *Bradford*, and several other Towns and Garrisons, against the King, were in six Weeks Space, by the Valour and Conduct of the Lord General, reduced to his Majesty's Subjection: But by the various Chance of War lost and won again, sometimes by one Party, and sometimes by another; and *Yorkshire*, in Spite of all Precaution, was for some Years a Scene of Blood and Misery.

Our City was the chief Quarters for the Lord General, and often for his whole Army; and was usually full of Soldiers, that 500 were sometimes billeted on free Quarters in one Parish, and scarce a Night happened without Quarrels, Blood and Murder among the Men, which the Vigilancy of the Governor, Sir *Thomas* *Glen*

* *Ex MS.*

† In *Thoresby's Ducatus Leod.* there is a remarkable Instance of filial Affection relating to this Gentleman, as follows: "*William Lister*, Esq; slain at *Tadcaster* in the Civil Wars. His Son passing through that Place many Years after, had the Curiosity to inquire where his Father was buried; and finding the Sexton digging in the Choir, he shewed him a Skull just dug up, which he averred to be his Father's. The Skull, upon handling, was found to have a Bullet in it; which Testimony of the Truth of the Sexton's Words so struck the Son, that he sickened at the Sight of it, and died soon after."

Clemham, could by no Means prevent; and he himself was several Times in Danger to be slain, in endeavouring to appease these contentious Mutinies. At this Time also all the Gaols in the City were full of Prisoners, and some other Places made Use of for that Occasion; at one Time there were 380 Prisoners in the Castle; in *Davy-Hall* 100; in *Merchants'-Hall* 108; who by close Confinement, Want of Victuals, &c. were put into raging Fevers; in which unhappy Condition several of them became their own Executioners.

About this Time a Pamphlet was published at York by the Lord General, intituled, *A Declaration of his Excellency the Earl of Newcastle, in Answer to the Aspersions cast upon him by the Lord Fairfax, in his Warrant bearing Date, Feb. 2, 1642, printed at York by Stephen Bailly, by special Command.*

In this Pamphlet the Earl, in a very handsome Manner, and nervous Style, answers all the Objections and Aspersions which the Lord *Fairfax* had thrown on him; in having raised an Army of Papists, and with those intruded, robbed, and plundered this County, killing and destroying religious Protestant Subjects, imprisoning and banishing God's holy Ministers; all which the Earl endeavours to wipe off. This Declaration, with the Answer to it again by the Lord *Fairfax*, are extant in *Elphinstone*, and, were they not too prolix, should find a Place in these Annals; for, in our Opinion, nothing would give a juster Notion of each Party's Pretensions to Honour, Honesty, and the Justice of their Cause, than may be found in them: And we believe the Reader will say, when he has read them, that their Pens and Swords carried equal Sharpness; the former having as little Remorse in destroying each other's Characters, as the latter their Persons.

Feb. 22, 1642. News came to York of the Queen's safe Landing at *Bridlington-Key*, under Convoy of seven Dutch Men of War, from *Helvoet-Sluice*; and on the 7th of March following she lay at *Malton*, and the next Day entered York with three Coaches, escorted by the Lord General, with eight Troops of Horse and fifteen Companies of Foot. She was met on *Heworth-Moor*, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. and great Multitudes of Citizens, with all possible Demonstrations of Joy.

March 9, 1642, the Ammunition brought by the Queen, consisting of thirty-six Pieces of Brass and two of Iron Ordnance, with Small Arms for 10,000 Men arrived at *York* in 500 Carts, which Stores, with three Mortar-Pieces, were laid up in the Common-Hall. At this Time the City was every where strongly fortified and above twenty Cannon, great and small, were planted about it. Two Cannon were upon *Old Bayle*; one at the *Fryers*; two Sling-Pieces, and one small Drake in three or four Barks which crossed the River in a Brea near the *Crane-House*; two at *Micklegate-Bar*, two at *Monk-Bar*, and two at *Walmgate-Bar*, out of which last a strong Bulwark was erected. At several Lane Ends within the City, Ditches and Banks were made and cast up, with Hogheads filled with Earth for Bar ricadoes. By the General's Orders the Magistrates were to find 800 Men to work daily at the Repairs of the Walls, and securing the Ditches of the City; and they had likewise 800 more out of the County to help them. This must be a vast Expence, and fall heavy upon every particular Inhabitant; when besides, adds the Writer of a Manuscript, each Citizen paid two Pounds a Month that maintained a Man in Arms, towards Provision for the Army; and if their own Servants bore not their Arms, it cost 5*s.* a Week for one to bear them; add to this 6*s.* a Month for Firing at the several Guards in the City, with two, three, or four Soldiers billeted upon free Billet in a House, which made their Case very deplorable.

The Earl of *Montrose*, who will be ever famous in History, having deserted the Covenanters Cause, came with the Lord *Ogilvy* and 120 Horse, and presented himself to the Queen at *York*. He informed her Majesty with the Covenanters Preparations to invade *England* and that they would in a very little Time bring a great Army into it. The Marquis of *Hamilton* came also hither to salute the Queen, and, by his Arts, refuted *Montrose's* Assertions, and prayed her Majesty to give no Credit to one so vain and young, which she unhappily inclined to. Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Governor of *Scarborough Castle*, with 300 Men, came to the Queen at *York*, returning to his Obedience to his Sovereign. The two *Hathams* seemed also to attempt it, but unfortunately

So dangerous Rebellion is, says our Authority, that it often ruins those that would return again to their Duty.

The Queen staid eight Weeks in York, as some write; but by a printed Paper*, it appears she resided near three Months in York. The Paper bears this Title:

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty,

The Humble Petition of the Nobility and Gentry of the County of York, and is thus worded:

Most gracious Queen,

WE the Nobility and Gentry of the County of York, having always found your Majesty's most gracious and constant Affection and Assistance to restore the Peace of the Kingdom in general, and of this County in particular, (for which we shall never be wanting in our loyal Endeavours and Service to your sacred Majesty) do in all Humility, and in the Behalf of all his Majesty's well-affected Subjects in this County, crave of your Majesty, that now, in our greatest and most pressing Necessities, your Majesty will graciously continue to contribute your Care and Protection to us and these Northern Parts. And we, seriously considering the great Benefit to his Majesty's Affairs, that all Helps be applied to the settling these Northern Counties in Peace, and that the Rebels in this and other neighbouring Counties are of more Consideration and Danger than formerly; and that if a disaffected Party in the Kingdom of Scotland should invade these Parts (which we know is now earnestly endeavoured by some ill Instruments, and fearing the lessening of our Forces here will be a great Advantage to them therein) before the Rebels of this County be reduced, the Work will be of as great Danger to us and the whole Kingdom as can be imagined: We do therefore most humbly crave that we may receive Comfort and Encouragement by Assurance from your Majesty, that you will not in your sacred Person depart, or carry any Forces from us, until it please God the Peace of this County be in a more recovering and settled Condition; which will be a gracious Expression of your Majesty's Wisdom and tender Care of these Northern Parts, and have a greater Im-

D d 3

pression

pression on the Hearts of such Forces as, being to wait on your Majesty's sacred Person, may leave their natural Countries, Kindred, and Friends in a more hopeful and happy Way of Security. And we do most heartily make our Protestations to your Majesty, that in this our Desire of your Majesty's Stay with us, we are exceedingly moved by the Apprehension we have of great Hazard to your Majesty's Person in your Journey to the King, it being certain the Rebels Southward have disposed their Forces dangerously, and we doubt, purposely, to hinder your Majesty's Passage.

And our Royal Sovereign's and your Majesty's Safety and Honour is the greatest earthly Blessing we can enjoy, for which we shall willingly engage our dearest Lives and Fortunes.

Dated *June 1, 1643.*

And ever pray, &c.

Notwithstanding this, and the just Apprehension the Queen might have of being impeded in her Passage, she resolutely set forward from *York*, *June 6, 1643*, to meet the King, guarded by a strong Body of Horse and Foot, under the Conduct of the valiant Earl of *Newcastle*. The General safely conveyed her Majesty to the King, for which Piece of excellent Conduct, as well as other his most eminent Services, his Majesty created him a Marquis.

We must not omit that, whilst the Queen staid in *York*, there was a remarkable Instance of her Majesty's Generosity and good Nature extended to the Prisoners of War in this City: For being told of their miserable Condition, and that their Wounds would not heal unless fresh Victuals were allowed them, she out of her private Purse sent them 20*l.* besides ordering them a great Quantity of Provisions, and getting an Order also from the General that each Prisoner should have Threepence a Day allowed for his Maintenance. This Note is taken from a Manuscript of those Times, and may be credited, because the anonymous Writer of it shews himself, in many Places, apparently against the King and Royal Cause.

Anno 1644 proved a busy Year both in this City and Neighbourhood. Sir *Thomas Glemham* was still Governor of *York*, and Col. *Thwaites* Deputy-Governor, both under

under the Command of the brave Marquis of *Newcastle*, the Lord General. Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, having gained a considerable Victory at *Selby* against the King's Forces, thought of nothing now but bringing the City to accept such Terms as he should be pleased to give it. Accordingly, *April 19*, he sent to *Lesley* the Scotch General, who had just then entered *England* with a great Army, to meet, and, with their united Forces, undertake the Siege of *York*. These Forces, however, were not thought sufficient to invest the City; for being spacious, the North Side continued open, and the Marquis having 4 or 5000 Horse in it, by the Help of a Bridge over the River, could transport them to either Side, and fall upon any Quarter he saw divided from the rest: It was therefore thought fit that the Earl of *Manchester* with his Army, out of the associated Counties, should advance to the others Assistance. Accordingly the Earl came up, and he in Person, with about 600 Foot and 100 Horse, and 12 Field-Pieces, were placed and quartered near *Bootham-Bar*, and on the North Side of it towards *Clifton*. *

The City was now closely beleaguered by an Army, consisting in all of 40,000 Men, under the Command of the three afore-mentioned Generals. What had been done before *Manchester* came up, was only a Kind of Blockade, and some slight Skirmishes; but now, being begirt much closer than before, several Batteries were erected against the City, particularly one on a Hill near *Walmgate-Bar*, where four Pieces of Cannon played almost incessantly on the Tower, Castle, and Town: Nor were they idle from within, but in one Day bestowed above 100 great Shot from their several Platforms on the Besiegers' Works †.

The Besieged having fired the Suburbs in most Parts about the City, and drawn their People into the Town, the Besiegers endeavoured to quench it, and preserve the Houses for their Shelter. Hereupon several hot Skirmishes ensued. *Manchester's* Forces fell on near *Walmgate-Bar*, and took *St. Nicholas's Church*, but were soon obliged to retire; the *Scots* also about *Micklegate-Bar* took and carried off a Booty of Cattle which were conveying to the City. The Besieged made several gallant Sallies, but were still beat back with like Courage.

Every

* *Rusworth.*

† *Ex MS.*

Every Day, says *Rusſworth*, produced ſome notable Action; and he ſeems to lament they were not journalized by any Hand that ever he ſaw, which makes him leſs particular in the Deſcription of this than many leſs remarkable Sieges in the War.

All the Hopes the loyal Party in the City had to be reſcued from their Enemies was in Prince *Rupert*; who, after he had raiſed the Siege of *Newark* with great Loſs to the Parliament, made what Haſte he could to do the like for *York*. In the mean Time the Lord General thought fit to amuſe the Commanders of the Rebels, with ſpecious Shews of treating about the Rendition of the City, and ſent a Letter, dated *June 8*, to the Earl of *Leven*, in theſe Words* :

My Lord,

I Cannot but admire that your Lordſhip has ſo near beleagured this City on all Sides, made Batteries againſt it, and ſo near approached to it, without ſignifying what your Intentions are, and what you deſire or expect, which is contrary to the Rules of all Military Diſcipline and Cuſtoms of War; therefore I have thought fit to remonſtrate thus much to your Lordſhip, to the End that your Lordſhip may ſignify your Intentions and Reſolutions therein, and receive ours. And ſo I remain, my Lord,

York,
June 8, 1644.

Your Lordſhip's humble Servant,

WILL. NEWCASTLE.

To which *Leſley* returned this Answer from *Fulford* the ſame Day † :

My Lord,

AT this Diſtance I ſhall not diſpute with your Lordſhip Points of Military Diſcipline, nor the Practice of Captains in ſuch Caſes; yet to give your Lordſhip Satisfaction in that your Letter deſires from me, your Lordſhip may take Notice that I have drawn my Forces before this City, with Intention to reduce it to the Obedience of King and Parliamene; whereunto if your Lordſhip ſhall ſpeedily conform, it may ſave the Effuſion of much innocent Blood, whereof I wiſh your Lordſhip to be no leſs ſparing than I am, who reſt

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,

LEVEN.

* *Rusſworth.*

† *Id em.*

The Lord *Fairfax*, and afterwards the Earl of *Manchester*, received Letters from the Marquis to the same Effect, and finding that he was willing to treat about the Rendition, the three Generals met on the 9th of *June* in the Night, and expressed their Readiness to enter into it. Gen. *Lesley* named for Commissioners the Earl of *Lindsay* and the Lord *Humbee*; the Lord *Fairfax* named Sir *William Fairfax* and Col. *White*; and the Earl of *Manchester* named Col. *Ruffel* and Col. *Hammond*; but withal signified to the Marquis, that they were unwilling to yield to a Cessation from Hostilities in any Part but the Place appointed for Treaty. The Marquis, after two Days Delay, sent the Generals this Answer*:

My Lords,

I Have received your Lordships Letter, with the Names of the Commissioners appointed by your Lordships; but since your Lordships have declared in your Letter to allow a Cessation of Arms only on that Side of the Town during the Time of the Treaty, I find it not fit for me to incline to it on those Conditions; and had returned your Lordships this Answer long before this Time, if some weighty Matters had not retarded my Affairs in that Particular. I am, my Lords,

Your Lordships

York, }
June 11, 1644. }

Most humble Servant,
WILL. NEWCASTLE.

The next Day the three Generals sent the following Summons, directed to the Marquis †:

WE the Generals of the Army raised for the King and Parliament, and now employed in this Expedition against York, that no further Effusion of Blood be occasioned, and that the City of York and Inhabitants may be preserved from Ruin, do hereby require your Lordship to surrender the said City to us, in the Name and for the Use of the King and Parliament, within the Space of Twenty-four Hours after the Receipt hereof; which if you refuse to do, the Inconveniences ensuing upon your Refusal, must be required at your Lordship's Hands; seeing our Intentions are not for Blood, or Destruction of Towns, Cities, or Countries,

* Rushworth.

† Idem.

Countries, unless, all other Means being used, we be necessitated thereunto, which shall be contrary to the Minds and Hearts of, my Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble Servants,

June 12, 1644.

LEVEN,
MANCHESTER,
FAIRFAX.

The Marquis's Answer the following Day, directed to all the three Generals, ran thus * :

My Lords,

I Have received a Letter from your Lordships, dated Yesterday, about Four o'Clock this Afternoon, wherein I am required to surrender the City to your Lordships in Twenty-four Hours after the Receipt; but I know your Lordships are too full of Honour to expect the Surrendering the City upon a Command, and upon so short an Advertisement to me, who have the King's Commission to keep it, and where there are so many generous Persons, and Men of Honour, Quality, and Fortune concerned in it. But, truly, I conceive this said Demand high enough to have been exacted from the meanest Governor of any of his Majesty's Garrisons; and your Lordships may be pleased to know, that I expect Propositions to proceed from your Lordships, as becomes Persons of Honour to give and receive from one another. If your Lordships therefore think fit to propound honourable and reasonable Terms, and agree upon a general Cessation from all Acts of Hostility during the Time of the Treaty, then your Lordships may receive such Satisfaction therein as may be expected from Persons of Honour, and such as desire to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, or Destruction of Cities, Towns, and Countries, as any whatever; yet will not spare their own Lives, rather than to live in the least Stain of Dishonour. And so desiring your Lordships Resolutions, I remain

Your Lordships

York, June 13, }
1644. }

Most humble Servant,

WILL. NEWCASTLE.

June

June 14 the Generals yielded to a complete Cessation during the Treaty; and thereupon the Commissioners meeting, those for the City offered the following Propositions*:

I. That the City should be rendered in twenty Days if no Relief come.

II. That the Marquis, with all his Officers and Soldiers, shall depart with Colours flying, Drums beating, Match lighted, with their Arms, &c. to be conveyed where they please, and not to be forced to march above eight Miles a Day; and that they have Liberty to stay forty Days for settling or conveying to other Places such Goods as they shall not be able to carry with them.

III. That no Oath, &c. be administered to any of them, farther than is warranted by the known Laws; and that the Gentry have Liberty to go to their own Houses, and be protected from Violence, and not questioned for what they have done; and that the Townsmen may enjoy all Privileges as before, and not questioned for what they have done; and that the Garrison placed here be only *Yorkshire* Men.

IV. That all the Churches be kept from Profanation: That Divine Service be performed therein as formerly: That the Revenues belong to the Officers as they have done: That the Prebendaries continue in their Prebends according to the Laws; and that all other Ecclesiastical Persons have Liberty to depart and serve God, and enjoy their Estates without Disturbance.

V. *Lastly*, That Hostages be given, and that *Clifford's* Tower (the chief Fort in the City) be kept by the King's Party till the Articles are performed.

Rushworth says, That the Besiegers' Commissioners expressed great Dislike at the Haughtiness of these Propositions, and, after long Debate upon them, three of the chief were sent by the rest to lay them before the Generals. In about two Hours they returned, and brought a Paper with them, in which were these, *viz.* That *York*, with all the Arms, &c. in and about the same, be delivered up for the Use of the King and Parliament on the Conditions following:

I. That the Soldiers go to their own Homes, and carry with them their Clothes and Money (not exceed-

ing fourteen Days Pay) and have safe Conduct, promising hereafter not to take Arms against the Parliament or Protestant Religion.

II. That the ordinary Inhabitants be protected from Violence, and have the same free Trade as others under Protection of King and Parliament; and that none be quartered here except those appointed for the Garrison.

III. That the Officers have Liberty to go to their own Homes with Swords and Horses, and to carry their Apparel and Money, not exceeding one Month's Pay; and any Officer recommended by the Marquis shall have a Pass to go beyond Sea, promising not to serve against the Parliament and Protestant Religion.

IV. That the Gentry and other Inhabitants of the County, now residing at York, may go to their own Homes, and be protected from Violence. A positive Answer to be returned to these Propositions by Three of the Clock To-morrow Afternoon.

These Conditions, so widely different from the other, were resented by the Commissioners for the City; *who, says Rushworth, were so far from accepting of them, that they refused to carry a Copy of them to the Marquis; but next Morning Lesley sent one by a Drum, to which the Marquis returned the following Answer:*

My Lord,

I Have perused the Conditions and Demands your Lordship sent; but when I considered the many Professions and Demands made to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, I did admire to see such Propositions from your Lordships, conceiving this not the Way to it; for I cannot suppose that your Lordships do imagine that Persons of Honour can condescend to any of these Propositions, and so remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's

York, June 15, }
1644.

Most humble Servant,

WILL. NEWCASTLE.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter the Cessation expired, and the three Generals renewed their Assaults upon the City on all Sides with double Vigour. *Manchester's Forces*

Forces had undermined St. Mary's Tower at the North-East Corner of the *Manor*, and Col. *Crayford*, a *Scotchman*, who commanded that Quarter, sprung the Mine, which took Effect, quite demolished the Tower, and buried a great many Men and Women in the Ruins: After this he attempted to storm the City with his Forces, having made another Breach in the Wall by Cannon lower down in *Marygate*; which entering, they scaled two or three other Walls, and took Possession of the *Manor*. This happened to be *Trinity-Sunday*, when most of the Commanders for the City were at the Cathedral; the violent Explosion, occasioned by springing the Mine, sufficiently alarmed them, and each Man ran to his Post to watch the Consequence. In the mean Time a Party of the Garrison went out by a private Sally-Port in the City Walls, entered the *Manor*, and cut off the only Way the Enemy had to retreat: Upon which a smart Rencounter ensued; the Rebels stood the Conflict some Time in the Bowling-Green; but 50 of them being kill'd, the rest, being about 250, threw down their Arms and submitted. On the Garrison's Side were slain Sir *Philip Byron* and Col. *Huddleston*, with Mr. *Samuel Brearey*, an Alderman's Son of this City, the Captain of a Company of 250 Volunteer Citizens.

From this Time to *June 24*, no extraordinary Accident happened, but small Skirmishes and Cannon constantly playing to and from the City both Night and Day, On the 24th of *June* aforesaid, about Four in the Morning, a commanded Party of about 600 sallied out from *Monk-Bar*, and furiously assaulted the Earl of *Manchester's* Quarters; but, after a sharp Conflict, were driven back with Loss *.

The Siege continued with all possible Vigour, and several bold Attempts were made by the Besiegers, whose Attacks were as bravely repulsed by the Besieged. The very Women in the City underwent great Danger and Fatigue in doing all that laid in their Power, and, as far as Modesty would permit, put on manly Courage for the Defence of it †. The Line of Circumvallation now cut off all Dealings with the Country, which made fresh Provisions sell at a high Rate: Mutton sold at 16s. per Quarter;

VOL. I.

E e

Quarter;

* Ex MS.

† Lawyer *Hildyard's* Preface to his *Antiquities of York*.

Quarter; Beef at 4*s.* a Stone; a Pig at 7*s.* a Hen at 4*s.* Eggs at 3*d.* a Piece; fresh Butter was 2*s.* 8*d.* a Pound; and Oatmeal at 2*s.* 8*d.* a Peck; yet being so long apprized of the Siege, such a Quantity of salt Provisions and Grain was laid in by the Lord General, that there was no Scarcity of either, and all Sorts of Liquors were plentiful enough.

June 30, towards Evening, the Generals of the Parliament's Forces had Notice that Prince *Rupert*, with an Army of 20,000 Men, was advancing, and would quarter that Night at *Knaresbrough* and *Boroughbridge*, within eighteen Miles of *York*: Whereupon, not thinking themselves able to fight him and continue the Siege, they resolved to rise. Accordingly, July 1, they drew off from their Trenches without Loss, and marched to a great Moor, five or six Miles distant, called *Marston-Moor*, and there drew up, expecting the Prince would make that his Way to *York*: But his Highness caused only a Party of Horse to face the Enemy at *Skipbridge*, where they might secure their Retreat over the *Ouse* at *Nunmonkton*; and keeping the rest of his Army on that Side, left them that Night in the Forest of *Galtres*, whilst he with about 200 Horse rode on to the City.

At *York* the Prince must needs be a most welcome Guest, and, had he not hurried his Affairs too precipitately, might not only have relieved the City, but established the Royal Cause on a Basis too strong for Rebellion to shake. Upon calling a Council of War the Marquis delivered his Opinion to the Prince, that he should not yet attempt any Thing upon the Enemy, for he had certain Intelligence of some Discontent among the Generals, and that they were resolved to divide. Besides, he expected in two Days Col. *Clavering* with above 3000 Men from the North, and 2000 drawn out of several Garrisons*.

Notwithstanding this the Prince had not the good Fortune to listen to the Marquis's Advice; but alledging that he had a Letter from his Majesty, then at *Oxford*, with a positive and absolute Command to fight the Enemy, he thought it his Duty to obey it. To which the Marquis replied, *That he was ready and willing to obey the Prince in all Things, no otherways than if*

* *Newcastle's Life by the Ducheſs.*

his Majesty was there in Person himself. And though several of his Friends advised the Marquis not to engage in Battle, because the Command, as they said, was taken from him; yet that Noble Lord answered, *That he would not shun the Fight, having no other Ambition than to live and die a faithful Subject to his Majesty* *.

Whether the Prince had such a Command from the King, or his own Rashness urged him to fight, is uncertain. However, *July 2*, he marched out of *York* with his whole Army, and his Van, consisting of 5000 Horse, came up with the Rebels before they had drawn their Forces out of the Moor. Upon this their whole Army made a Stand, and drew back both Foot and Carriages with all Speed, finding that the Prince was resolved to fight them. Both Parties were now busy in drawing up their Men, and the Parliamentarians, finding the Prince had possessed himself of great Part of the Moor, were obliged to range theirs in a large Field of Rye at *Marston Town End*, where their Pioneers made Way to extend their Wings. This being a rising Ground the Prince sent a Party to dislodge them, but they were driven back, and that Corn-Field continued in the Possession of the Enemy. Their Right Wing was placed just by *Marston Town Side*, the Town on their Right Hand fronting the East; and as their Foot and Horse came up, they formed their Battalia and Left Wing, endeavouring to gain as much to the Left as they could; so that at last their Army fronted to the Moor from *Marston to Tockwith*, being a Mile and a Half in Length. The Number of the Parliament's Forces were somewhat more than the King's, according to *Sir Thomas* †. Their Right Wing of Horse was commanded by him, consisting of eighty troops, being his own and Part of the *Scotch Horse*; the main Battalia by his Father *Lord Ferdinando*, who commanded the Foot towards the Right Wing, consisting of all his own Infantry, and two Brigades of *Scots* for a Reserve. Towards the Left *General Lesley* commanded with the rest of the *Scottish Forces*; two Brigades of the *Earl of Manchester's*, with six Regiments of *Scots* and one of *Manchester's* Brigades, for a Reserve. The Left Wing was led on by the *Earl of Manchester* and his

E e 2

Lieu-

* Marquis's Life.

† Fairfax's Memoirs.

Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, consisting of the Earl's whole Cavalry, and three Regiments of the *Scottish* Horse, under Major-General *Lesley*, making in all about seventy Troops.

This Disposition took up a great Part of the Day, but Prince *Rupert* was as late as they before he had fully drawn up his Forces: Part of his Foot and Horse lay on the North Side of the River *Ouse*, and had to come over *Poppleton* Ferry; which, however, happened to be fordable at that Time*. It was betwixt Two and Three o'Clock in the Afternoon before both Armies were formed for the Battle. The Prince had, with the Forces drawn out of the City, in all, in the Field, about 14,000 Foot and 9000 Horse, and 25 Pieces of Ordnance. His Highness himself led on the Right Wing of Horse, which had in it twelve Divisions, consisting of 100 Troops, which might be 5000 Men. The Left Wing of Horse was commanded by Sir *Charles Lucas* and Col. *Hurry*; but who commanded the main Body, whether General *Goring*, Major-General *Porter*, or General *Tilyard*, is uncertain; nor do we find what particular Charge the Marquis had this Day, though it is certain he was engaged very valiantly in the Battle. The Prince's Army extended in Front somewhat longer than the Enemy's; and therefore on their Left Hand, to secure the Flank, they placed the *Scottish* Dragoons, under the Command of Col. *Frisle*. The Field-Word given by the Prince was *God and the King*; the others, *God with us*.

About Three o'Clock the great Ordnance began to play on both Sides, but without doing any considerable Damage or Execution. About Five there was a general Silence, both Sides expecting who should begin the Charge first, for there was a small Ditch and a Bank betwixt the two Armies, which, though they had drawn up within Musquet-Shot of one another, must incommode the Party that passed it, and lay them more open to their Enemy. In this Posture and dreadful Dilemma they continued some Time, insomuch that every one concluded there would be no Action that Night; but about Seven in the Evening (*Whitlock* says Seven next Morning) the Parliament's Generals were resolved to

* *Ex MS.*

fall on, and the Signal being given, the Earl of *Manchester's* Foot and the *Scots* of the main Body advancing in a running March, soon made their Way over the Ditch and gave a smart Charge.

The Front Divisions of Horse mutually charged, the respective opposite Right and Left Wings meeting. The first Division of Prince *Rupert's* advanced, and with them his Highness in Person charged *Cromwell's* Division of 300 Horse, in which he was also in Person, and very hard put to it, being charged by the Prince's bravest Men both in Front and Flank, and disputed it at Sword's Point a considerable while. But at last *Cromwell* broke through, and at the same Time the rest of his Horse of that Wing, and Major-General *Lesley's* Regiments, had wholly broken all that Right Wing of the Prince's, and were in Chace of them beyond their Left Wing; the Earl of *Manchester's* Foot on the Right Hand of them went on by their Side almost as fast as they, dispersing and cutting down the Prince's Foot. It was at this Time that the Marquis of *Newcastle's* own Regiment, called *White-Coats* from their Cloathing, consisting of a 1000 stout *Northumbrians*, being deserted by the Horse, yet scorning either to fly or ask Quarter, were cut in Pieces by the Enemy, all bravely falling in Rank and File as they had stood. The rest of this Wing which escaped killing, or being taken Prisoners, fled in Confusion towards *York*.

But the Prince's Left Wing, led by Col. *Hurry*, had better Success, and did as much to the Parliament's Right. For though Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and Col. *Lambert* with five or six Troops charged through them, and went to their own Left Wing, the rest of his Troops were defeated, and the Lord *Fairfax's* Brigade being furiously assaulted, and at the same Time disordered by some of Sir *Thomas's* new-raised Regiments, who wheeled about, and being closely pursued, fled back upon them and the Reserve of *Scottish* Foot, and broke them wholly, treading many underfoot; so that their Right Wing and great Part of their main Body were routed, and fled out of the Field several Miles towards *Tadcaster* and *Carwood*, giving out that all was lost. The three Generals, *Manchester*, *Leven*, and *Fairfax*, thought so too, and were

hastening out of the Field, when the Victory they despaired of unexpectedly fell into their Hands.

For whilst the Royalists were too eagerly pursuing the Chace, and just seizing on their Enemy's Carriages, &c. *Cromwell* with his Regiment, and *Sir Thomas Fairfax* having rallied some of his Horse and *Manchester's* Foot, came back from the Chace of the Prince's Right Wing, and perceiving their Friends in the mean Time thus worsted, advanced in good Order to a second Charge with all the Prince's Horse and Foot that had thus disordered their main Body and Right Wing, who, seeing their Approach, gave over the Pursuit and prepared to receive them, both Sides being not a little surprized to see they must fight over again for that Victory which they thought they had already gained. However the Royalists marched with great Resolution down the Corn-Field, the Face of the Battle being exactly counterchanged; for now the King's Forces stood on the same Ground and with the same Front that the Parliament's Right Wing before stood to receive their Charge, and the Parliament's Forces in the same Ground and with the same Front which the King's did when the Fight began.

The Battle thus renewed grew desperate and bloody; but, in fine, after the utmost Efforts of Strength and Courage on either Side for three Hours, Victory wholly inclined to the Parliament's Forces; who before Ten o'Clock had cleared the Field, and not only recovered their own Ordnance, but took all the Prince's Train of Artillery, and followed the Chace with great Slaughter within a Mile of *York*.

The Number of the Slain on both Sides is said to be 8000; though Authors vary much in this as well as other Particulars. The Countrymen, who were commanded to bury the Dead, gave out, that they interred 4150*. It is generally believed that the Prince lost at least 3000 Men; the Parliamentarians would not own to above 300 being slain on their Side, which is incredible from the Circumstances of the Fight.

Cromwell, though the Author of *Hollis's* Memoirs taxes him with Cowardice, and says he withdrew very soon from the Fight for a slight Wound in the Neck, is by most Writers allowed to be the main Instrument in

gaining

* The Graves are yet to be seen on the Moor near *Wilstop-Wood*.

gaining this Victory. His known Courage, joined with Coolness, restored the Day, which was infallibly lost by Prince *Rupert's* wanting that last necessary Qualification. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* also carried himself with great Bravery, he tells us that he must ever remember the Goodness of God to him that Day; for having charged through the Enemy, and his Men going after the Pursuit, he stopped to return to his other Troops, when unexpectedly he fell into the Midst of the Enemy's Horse alone; but taking the Signal out of his Hat, he past through them again as one of their own Commanders. He adds, that he escaped the Dangers of that Field with only a Cut in his Cheek given him at the first Charge, and his Horse shot under him in the second. The other Generals are said to have all fled the Field; and *Leven*, after a Flight of ten Miles, was taken by a Constable.

The principal Persons slain on the Prince's Side were Sir *William Wentworth*, Sir *William Lambton*, Sir *William Langdale*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, Col. *Eury*, and Col. *Slingby*. Prisoners of Note were Sir *Charles Lucas*, Lieutenant-General to the Marquis of *Newcastle's* Horse, Major-General *Porter*, Major-General *Tilyard*, and the Lord *Goring's* Son, with near 100 other Officers, 1500 common Soldiers, (*Whitlock* says 3000 Prisoners in all) 25 Pieces of Ordnance, 130 Barrels of Powder, and several thousand Arms. The Number of Colours was computed at near 100, but could not be ascertained; because, notwithstanding there was a Proclamation made to bring them to the Generals, the Soldiers had already torn most of them to Pieces, delighting to wear the Shreds in their Hats *.

Of

* Some of the Colours sent up to the Parliament by Capt. *Stewart* were these: Prince *Rupert's* Standard, with the Arms of the *Palatine*, near five Yards long and broad, with a red Cross in the Midst. A black Corner, with a black and yellow Fringe, and a Sword brandished from the Clouds with this Motto, *Terribilis ut acies ordinata*. A Willow-green, with the Portraiture of a Man holding in one Hand a Knot, in the other a Sword with this, *Who shall untie it?* Another coloured with a Face, and this Motto, *Aut mors aut vita decora*. A yellow Cornet in its Middle, a Lion couchant, and behind him a Mastiff seeming to snatch at him, and a Label from his Mouth written *Kimbolton*; at his Feet little Beagles, and before their Mouths written, *Pym, Pym, Pym*; and out of the Lion's Mouth these Words proceeding, *Quousque tandem abutere patientia nostra*, *Rushworth*.

Of the Parliamentarians none of Note were slain except Capt. *Micklethwait* and Major *Fairfax*, who died of his Wounds at *York*, as did also *Charles Fairfax*, Son to the General, and was buried at *Marston*. Some Historians mention a *Scotch* Lord called *Didcup* to be slain here; which being told the King, his Majesty said, *He did not remember such a Lord in Scotland; to which was replied, It might very well be, since that Lord had forgot there was such a King in England.*

On the King's Party every Gentleman, Volunteer, &c. served in this Battle with uncommon Bravery, and charged with all the Resolution that could be expected from Men; insomuch that Prince *Rupert* said, at his Return to *York*, *I am sure my Men fought well, and know no Reason for our Rout but this, because the Devil did help his Servants.* The Prince himself narrowly escaped to the City by the Goodness of his Horse.

To add to the Misfortunes of this Day, the very next proved a worse Stroke to the King's Affairs; for the brave Marquis of *Newcastle* and his Friends, being discontented at the Prince's Conduct, tired and discouraged to the last Degree, resolved to leave the Land. This Resolution was in some Measure copied by the Prince, for almost at the same Instant they sent Messages to one another that they intended to leave this City and Country; the Prince said he would march away that very Morning with his Horse, and as many Foot as he had left, towards the South; and the Marquis, that he would that Instant repair to the Sea-Coast and transport himself beyond Seas; both which, to the Surprize of Friends and Enemies, they immediately performed. The Prince drew out what Forces he could rally twelve Miles North of *York*, waiting the coming up of Col. *Clavering*, and then marched into *Lancashire*. The Marquis, conducted by one Troop of Horse, went to *Scarborough*, where two Ships being ready to sail for *Hamburg*, he embarked himself and Company therein, which were his two Sons, *Charles Viscount Mansfield* and Lord *Henry Cavendish*, his Brother Sir *Charles Cavendish*, Dr. *Bramhall*, Bishop of *Londonderry*, the Lord *Falconberg*, the Lord *Widdrington*, the Earl of *Etbyne*, the Lord *Carnwath*, Col. *Carnaby*, Col. *Basset*, Col. *Maxin*, Sir *William Vavasour*, Sir *Francis Mackworth*, and about eighty more, who in
four

four Days arrived safe at *Hamburg*. The Marquis came no more into *England* till the Restoration of King *Charles II.* sixteen Years after.

This strange Desertion of the City of *York* and the Northern Parts proved of the utmost Disservice to the King's Affairs; for had they staid in the City, they might in Time have wearied out and wasted those Enemies they now left it to the Mercy of. Dissensions amongst the Northern Generals of the Parliament's Side were very considerable both before and after the Battle. The *Scots*, according to their Custom, wanted to be marching home with their Booty; and they had another Reason, for the Marquis of *Montrose* had already lighted a Flame in their Country, which the Parliament at *Edinburgh* could not extinguish. Then such Quantities of Provisions had been thrown into the Town, that they had little Stomach to the renewing of the Siege, till the certain Intelligence of the King's two Generals abrupt and final Departure so far reconciled them, that, after two Days, they returned to their Posts before the City, which was now left to the sole Discretion of the Governor, Sir *Thomas Glemham*, and beleaguered straiter than ever.

They summoned the City to surrender on Mercy, to which Sir *Thomas Glemham* and the Lord Mayor answered, *That they could not yield on any such Terms*; so the Besiegers went on vigorously with their Attacks against it; and, *July 11*, having made their Approaches almost up to the very Walls, and prepared Scaling Ladders, &c. for a general Assault, the Besieged beat a Parley and desired a Treaty; whereupon Sir *William Constable* and Col. *Lambert* were sent into the City to conclude it.

And, *July 15*, 1644, that gallant Gentleman the Governor having done as much as Man could do in Defence of the City, after a Siege of eighteen Weeks, in which he had valiantly withstood twenty-two Storms, four Countermines, and slain 4 or 5000 of the Enemy before it; having but a small Garrison, most of their Artillery drawn out and lost at *Marston-Moor*, little or no warlike Ammunition left, and lastly deserted by their best and bravest Men, thought fit to surrender up the City on the following Terms*:

I. That

* *Ex MS.*

I. That Sir *Thomas Glemham*, as Governor of the City of *York*, shall surrender and deliver up the same, with the Forts, Tower, Cannon, Ammunition, and Furniture of War belonging thereunto, on the 16th of *July* instant, at Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon, to the three Generals, or to whom they shall appoint, for the Use of the King and Parliament, in the Manner and upon the Conditions following :

II. That all the Officers shall march forth the City with their Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted, Bullet in Mouth, Bag and Baggage.

III. That they shall have a Convoy, that no Injury be done them in their March to *Skipton*.

IV. That sick and maimed Soldiers shall not be hindered from going after their Recoveries.

V. That all Soldiers' Wives and Children may have Liberty to go to their Husbands and Fathers, to their own Homes and Estates, and to enjoy them peaceably under Contribution.

VI. That no Soldier shall be enticed away.

VII. That the Citizens and Inhabitants may enjoy all their Privileges which formerly they did at the Beginning of these Troubles, and may have Freedom of Trade both by Sea and Land, paying such Duties and Customs as all other Cities under Obedience of Parliament.

VIII. That if any Garrison be placed in the City, two Parts in three shall be *Yorkshire* Men ; no free Quarter shall be put upon any without his own Consent, and the Armies shall not enter the City before the Governor and Lord Mayor be acquainted.

IX. That in all Charges the Citizens, Resiants, and Inhabitants shall bear only such Part with the County at large as was formerly in all other Assessments.

X. That all Citizens, Gentlemen, Resiants, Sojourners, and every other Person within the City, shall, if they please, have free Liberty to remove themselves, Family, and Goods, and to dispose thereof and their Estates at their Pleasures, according to the Law of the Land, either to live at their own Homes or elsewhere ; and to enjoy their Goods and Estates without Molestation, and to have Protection and Safeguard for that Purpose, so that they may rest quietly at their Abodes, and

travel

travel safely and freely about their Occasions; and, for their better Removal, may have Letters of Safe-Conduct, and be furnished with Horses and Carriages at reasonable Rates.

XI. That all Gentlemen and others that have Goods within the City, and are absent themselves, may have free Liberty to take, carry away, and dispose of them as in the foregoing Articles.

XII. That neither Churches nor other Buildings shall be defaced, nor any Plunderings, nor taking of any Man's Person, nor any Part of his Estate, suffered; and that Justice shall be administered within the City by the Magistrates according to Law, who shall be assisted therein, if Need require, by the Garrison.

XIII. That all Persons, whose Dwellings are in the City, though now absent, may enjoy the Benefit of these Articles as if they were present.

Signed

FERD. FAIRFAX,

MANCHESTER,

ADAM HEPBORNE,

THO. GLEMBAM.

LORD HUMBEE,

WILL. CONSTABLE.

These extraordinary Concessions, granted to People driven to the utmost Despair, may shew Posterity how eager they were to be possessed of the City, their own Divisions making it impracticable for them to lie long before it. On these Terms the City, together with its Ports, Towers, 35 Pieces of Ordnance, 3000 Arms, 5 Barrels of Powder and other Ammunition, were yielded up to the Enemy by Sir Thomas Glemham, with the Consent of the Lord Mayor and Magistrates of the Place.

And,

* Sir Thomas Glemham afterwards held Carlisle nine Weeks for the King, against Pestilence, Famine, and the Power of Scotland, and delivered it up on good Terms; he was also Governor of Oxford, which he surrendered by the King's Orders to Gen. Fairfax; But being arrested in London, contrary to the Oxford Articles, he was some Time kept Prisoner in the Fleet, whence he found Means to escape into Holland, where soon after this worthy Gentleman died. His Brother, Dr. Glemham, was, after the Restoration, made Bishop of St. Asaph. Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyalists.

And, *July 16,* the Forces marched out, being about 1000, besides Sick and Wounded, the Besiegers being drawn up on both Sides the Way out of *Micklegate-Bar* for near a Mile, that the Besieged might march through them. Then the three Generals went into the City in Procession directly to the Minster, says *Rusworth*, where a Psalm was sung and Thanks returned to God by Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Chaplain to the Earl of *Leven*; and *Thursday* after was appointed a Day of Thanksgiving to be solemnly kept by the whole Army.

Some Writers have taxed the Generals with a Breach of their Articles, by suffering their Soldiers to plunder, &c. But if we may believe *Rusworth*, it was only this, that some Troopers of *Manchester's* Army took away from the King's Forces, as they were marching, Clothes, Plate, and Money, contrary to Articles; upon which the Generals expressed themselves much offended; and adds he, *Manchester* published a Declaration, that if any Trooper concerned in the Plunder would in two Days bring to his Captain what he had taken, he should be forgiven; if not, they should suffer Death according to the Articles of War published by the Earl of *Essex*.

Immediately after the Rendition of the City, the three Armies thought fit to separate, being heartily tired of one another's Company. The *Scots* marched Northward, the Earl of *Manchester* into *Lincolnshire*, and the Lord *Fairfax* remained at *York*, being constituted Governor of it by the Parliament. Here he and his Son were to take in all the Garrisons that still held out for the King in this County, which in a small Time after were wholly brought under Subjection.

In one of their Excursions, in order to reduce the Castle of *Helmley*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* received a dangerous Shot in his Shoulder; and being brought to *York* he laid there some Time so ill of his Wound that his Life was despaired of. Upon his Recovery he was voted by the Parliament Commander in Chief of all their Forces, and did that signal Service for them to reduce the King's Affairs to the lowest Ebb of Fortune, of which none could more heartily repent, if we may believe his own Memoirs, than the Hero himself.

Upon the taking of the City, the new-made Governor displaced Sir *Edmund Cooper* from the Office of Lord Mayor.

Mayor, which he had held four Years (when few durst undertake it) with all the Testimony of Loyalty and Courage a good Subject could pay to his Sovereign. *Thomas Hoyle*, Alderman, one of the City's Representatives in Parliament, was, for a contrary Reason, put into the Place*. The Governor also procured *John Geldart*, *Stephen Watson*, *Thomas Dickenson*, *Robert Horner*, *Leonard Thompson*, and *Simon Coulton*, to be chosen Aldermen for their eminent Disaffection to the King, in the Places of *Sir Robert Belt*, *Sir Roger Jaques*, *Robert Hemsworth*, *William Scott*, and *John Myers*, displaced, and even disfranchised, for their Loyalty to their Prince.

The City Walls, much shattered in the Time of the Siege, were, by Order of the Governor and Lord Mayor, put into Repair. And the same Year, Jan. 1, 1648, came the great Convoy to *York*, commanded by Major-General *Skippon*, with 200,000*l.* which Money was paid to the *Scots* at the Common-Hall of this City for their Service. At the General's coming in all the Artillery about the City was discharged*.

In 1647 the Inhabitants of the County and City of *York*, and of the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, presented a Petition to the Parliament, to lay a Foundation for an University at *York*. The whole Kingdom being now almost under Subjection to the Parliament, and having no more Enemies to fear, this City was dismantled of its Garrison, *Clifford's Tower* only excepted, of which the Lord Mayor was constituted Governor, and so continued several Years.

January 30, 1648, King *Charles* was beheaded, and the same Year Judge *Thorp* came to *York* to hold the Lent Assize; where, in an elaborate Charge to the Grand Jury, he endeavoured to justify the Murder of the King, and to vindicate the Parliament in all their Proceedings. In order to make the Change from the King's Name in Forms of Law, which it had ever run in to the Commons of *England*, acceptable to the People, he raked up all the invidious and scandalous Invectives against Kings and Monarchy, which the most celebrated Republicans to his Time had ever wrote†. At this Assize was a great Gaol-Delivery, sixteen Men and seven Women were

VOL. I.

F f

con-

* Lawyer *Hildyard's* Antiquities of *York*. † *Ex MS.*

† This Speech was printed at *York*.

condemned, and all executed save two. One of the Women was condemned for crucifying her Mother, and offering a Calf and a Cock for a burnt Sacrifice, and her Husband was hanged for having a Hand in the Fact.

On the 23d of *August* following, Col. *John Morrice* and Lieut. *Blackburn* were executed at *Tyburn* near *York*; the former was Governor of *Pontefract* Castle, which he had with extreme Pains taken, and with extreme Hardships kept; the latter was one of that gallant Party which was sent out of the Castle in that memorable Expedition to *Doncaster*, and the very Man that killed *Rainsborough*. After the Rendition of the Castle they were both taken as they were endeavouring to get abroad, and brought Prisoners to *York*. They had once an Opportunity to make their Escapes; and one of them had slid down the Castle Walls by a Rope, which his Partner endeavouring to do after him, by Haste or Inadvertency, fell and broke his Leg. This Misfortune cost them both their Lives; for the Colonel would not leave his unhappy Companion, but, out of a noble Spirit of Generosity, staid by him till they were retaken. After twenty-two Weeks Imprisonment they were sentenced to die by the Judges *Thorp* and *Puleston*, who were purposely sent down to try them; and both testified at their Deaths that steady Loyalty which had made their Lives so remarkable.

Cromwell, the renowned Protector of these Realms, has little Share in these Annals; though a very considerable one in the Annals of *England*. We cannot learn he was ever at *York*, except after the Battle of *Marston-Moor* with the Generals; and another Time we find this Memorial of him.

July 4, 1650, Gen. *Cromwell* came to *York*, on an Expedition into *Scotland*, at which Time all the Artillery of the Tower were discharged; the next Day he dined with the Lord Mayor, and the following set forward for *Scotland*. To compliment his Excellency, and to shew their Zeal for the Cause, our Magistrates then thought fit to take down the King's Arms at *Mickle-gate* and *Bootham* Bars, through both which he must needs pass in his Journey, and put up the State's Arms in their Stead.

This

This is all we can meet with during the Commonwealth and *Cromwell's* Usurpation, after whose Death Affairs began to wheel about. Divisions and Distractions daily increased amongst the Rulers, and every honest Man saw plainly there was no other Way to settle the Kingdom on its sure and antient Basis, but calling in their lawful King.

It must be allowed that the first Person of Quality that stirred in these Parts, and seemed to point at a Restoration, was the Lord *Fairfax*: He had kept a secret Correspondence with Gen. *Monk* for some Time, and had promised to raise Forces, in Concert with Sir *George Booth*, and fall upon *Lambert's* Rear, who was stationed at *Newcastle*, in order to put a Stop, one Way or other, to *Monk's* Proceedings: By which Action, says an Author *, his Lordship was likely to recover the Honour in pursuing that Army, which, when he was formerly their General, he had lost by leading it. Lord *Fairfax's* Preparations were, it seems, discovered too soon; and the General having a tender Concern for him and his Party, who had so gallantly declared for *Monk*, and knowing how unequal they were to deal with *Lambert's* Army, he resolved to hasten to their Relief; and to that End marched his Forces immediately over the *Tweed*.

Lambert's Army deserting him on *Monk's* Approach, the General came to *Newcastle*, where he halted three Days; and having received Intelligence that Lord *Fairfax* had summoned *York*, and was actually in Possession of it, he arrived there by easy Marches, Jan. 11, 1658, and staid five Days, during which Time he was fully employed: By his own Authority he fell to modelling his Army, and disposed of such Forces as had belonged to *Lambert*. *Lambert's* own Regiment he gave to Col. *Bethell*, as a Reward for his Service in joining with Lord *Fairfax*; Major *Smithson* had *Lilburn's* Regiment given him, that Officer having brought it off from *Lambert* to the Lord *Fairfax* and his Party. This Lord visited the General frequently, and had much secret Discourse with him. One Day they dined together privately in the

F f 2

General's

* The Life of Gen. *Monk*, published from the original MS. of Dr. *Skinner*, by *W. Webster*, 8vo. London 1725.

General's own Chamber, whilst the principal Officers and others were treated and entertained at a public Table by his Chaplain deputed for that Purpose. The Chaplain here mentioned was Dr. Price, who afterwards wrote and published *the Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration, being privy to all the secret Passages and Particularities*, as the Title of the Book expresses it, of *that glorious Revolution* *. It is from this Author the following remarkable Story is extracted. It seems that the Night of that Day on which the Lord Fairfax and the General dined privately together, Mr. Bowles was sent by his Lordship to confer with the General, and they were in close Conference till after Midnight: For about that Time Dr. Price entering the Chamber to go to Prayers, as usual, he found him and Bowles in very private Discourse; the General ordering him to go out for a while, but not to Bed. After Bowles was gone, he called the Doctor to him, commanding his Servants to stay without. He took him close to him and said, *What do you think? Mr. Bowles has pressed me very hard to stay here, and declare for the King, assuring me that I shall have great Assistance.* The Doctor started at the Boldness of the Proposition, and asked the General whether he had made Bowles any such Promise. No truly, cried he, *I have not, or, I have not yet.* The Doctor found he was much perplexed in his Thoughts, as he himself was, till after a little Pause the Doctor recovered himself, and spoke to this Effect: *That after the famous Gustavus, King of Sweden, was killed in Germany, his Effigies in Wax, with his Queen's and Children's, were carried up and down to be shewn for a Sight, and the Spectators were entertained with the Story of his Life, in which the Doctor remembered this Passage, that when this King entered Germany, he said, That if his Shirt knew what he intended to do, he would pull it off and burn it.* The Doctor's Application of it to the General was designed to entreat him to sleep between York and the Walls of London, and when he came within them, then to open his Eyes and consider what he had to do. This Advice the Doctor backed with such other Reasons as he thought most prevalent.

Nor

* London printed for John Vade, 1680.

Nor was it the General only that was strongly solicited to declare for the King at *York*, some of his Officers were also set upon, and promised great Rewards for so doing; one of whom was so modest as only to demand to be made Lord High Chancellor of *England* for that Service. This Circumstance Sir *Edward Hyde* told the General after the King came in.

By this it appears that it was a moot Point whether the General had not actually proclaimed *Charles II.* King of *England*, &c. at *York*. But at last determining to carry on his Dissimulation with the Parliament a little further, and receiving Orders from them to march up to *London*, in Requital of their Kindness, he publicly caned one of his Officers for saying *this Monk will at last bring in Charles Stewart*, commanding his other Officers to do the like to those under their Command that should so offend.

On one of these Days the General paid a Visit to the Lord *Fairfax* at his Country-Seat at *Nunappleton*, where he and his Officers were magnificently entertained at Dinner, and the same Night he returned again to *York*. The General having, of his own sole Authority and Discretion, marched with his Army from *Coldstream*, in *Scotland*, to this City, he here received Orders from the Parliament to keep on his Way to *London*. It seems that the Lord *Fairfax*'s Rising in *Yorkshire*, though he had prefaced his Actions with the Authority of Parliament, was not at all agreeable to them, being very well assured that he had other Designs in it beyond their Safety; nor could they be pleased with Gen. *Monk*'s Stay in that County, where he might probably receive other Impressions than those, they hoped, he had brought out of *Scotland* with him. Besides the Union of two such Persons against them, esteemed the best Generals in the Nation, might have given them another Kind of Disturbance than what they had received from *Fleetwood* or *Lambert*. They had suffered him to advance so far, that now they could not decently command him back to *Scotland*, without some Disobligation to the General and Disgust to his Army, nor were they sure of their own Forces in *London*; and therefore, though much against their Inclinations, they were constrained to authorize Gen. *Monk*'s Advance thither, rather than leave him any longer in *Yorkshire*.

Upon receiving his Orders by Auditor *Thompson*, to remove all Umbrage and Apprehension from his worthy Masters above, he resolved to reduce his Army, and from *York* sent back Major *Morgan* into *Scotland* with two Regiments of Horse and Foot. The General had used the best Means in his Power to secure that Nation before he left it; yet, not well assured of the busy Humour of the *Scots*, he thought it his best Way to send *Morgan* back, in order to keep together a considerable Reserve, in Case the General should have Need, or have lost a Battle in *England*. He left another Regiment at *York*, under the Command of Col. *Fairfax*, who being a Native of this County, and very well allied and esteemed amongst them, was the most proper Person to be intrusted with the Care of the City, and the Safety of the County: And now having reduced his Army to just 4000 Foot and 1800 Horse, a Number seemingly insignificant to attempt a Revolution with, he marched out of *York*, Jan. 16, and went in two Days to *Mansfield* in *Nottinghamshire*, where we shall leave him.

Success attended all the General's Motions, and Providence singled him out to be the happy Instrument to restore the King and Royal Family to the Throne of their Ancestors, the Church of *England* to its Revenues and Discipline, and the Laws of the Land to their ancient Course and Channel, from which they had been so long and so shamefully perverted.

York may be supposed to taste a little of those Joys, which Bishop *Burnet* says the whole Nation was drunk and mad with on this memorable Occasion for three Years together*. The loyal Citizens in it had suffered extremely from the rigid Government of their Magistrates after the Rendition. Sir *Edmond Cooper* and the rest of the Aldermen displaced had sunk under their Misfortunes, and were all dead, save one, before the happy Restoration: But when it was publickly known that this Change was agreed upon, and a Proclamation sent down for that Purpose, *Charles II.* was proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*, &c. at *York*, in the following Manner:

May 11, 1660, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Twenty-four, on Horseback, in their proper Habits, preceded

* *Burnet's History of his own Times.*

ceded the Cavalcade; next followed the Chamberlains and Common Councilmen on Foot, in their Gowns; these were attended by more than 1000 Citizens under Arms; and lastly came a Troop of Country Gentlemen, near 300, with Lord *Fairfax* at their Head, who all rode with their Swords drawn and Hats upon the Points of them. When the Proclamation was read at the usual Places, the Bells rung, the Cannon played from the Tower, and the Soldiers fired several Volleys; and at Night were Bonfires, Illuminations, &c. with the greatest Expressions of Joy that could possibly be testified on that happy Deliverance.

And on the 29th of *May*, the King's Birth-Day, and the Day of his publick Entrance into the City of *London*, the Loyalty of our Citizens was in a more especial Manner expressed: For, says our Author*, an Eye-Witness, the Effigies of the late Tyrant and Usurper *Oliver Cromwell*, clothed in a Pink Sattin Suit, with that, adds he, of that base Miscreant and unjust Judge *John Bradshaw*, habited in a Judge's Robe; as likewise the *Scotch Covenant*, and the late State's Arms, which were erected in the Common-Hall, were all on the same Day hung upon a Gallows, set up in the *Pavement* for that Purpose, and at last put into three Tar-Barrels and burnt, together with the Gallows, in the Presence of 1000 Citizens in Arms, and a Multitude of other Spectators.

In 1663 there was an Insurrection in *Yorkshire*, the Leaders of which were all Conventicle Preachers, and the old Parliament's Soldiers. Their Pretences for this Rebellion were, to redeem themselves from the Excise and all Subsidies; to re-establish a Gospel Magistracy and Ministry; to restore the Long Parliament; and to reform all Orders and Degrees of Men, especially the Lawyers and Clergy. In order to this they printed a Declaration, or, according to *Echard*, a Call to Rebellion, beginning with these Words: *If there be any City, Town, or County in the three Nations that will begin this righteous and glorious Work, &c.* Accordingly a great Number of them appeared in Arms at *Farnley-Wood*, near *Otley*, in this County.

But the Time and Place of Rendezvous being known, a Body of Regular Troops with some of the County Militia

* *Hildyard's Antiquities of York*, 1664.

Militia was sent against them, who seized upon several, and prevented the Execution of their Design. A Commission was sent down to *York* in the Depth of Winter to try the principal Leaders of them, and twenty-one were condemned and executed, eighteen at *York*, and three at *Leeds*; two of them were quartered, and their Quarters set up upon the several Gates of the City. Four of their Heads were set upon *Micklegate-Bar*, three at *Bootham-Bar*, one at *Walmgate-Bar*, and three over the Castle Gates.

August 5, 1666, James Duke of York and his Duchess came to this City, and were met on *Tadcaster Bridge* by the Sheriffs, and at *Micklegate-Bar* by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. in their Formalities, on Horseback, the Chamberlains and Common-Council on Foot. *Richard Etberington, Esq;* Deputy-Recorder, made a Speech to his Highness, which being ended, they were entertained at Alderman *Bawtry's* House, and afterwards conducted to the Lord *Irwin's* in the *Minster-Yard*. This Progress was made by the Duke and Duchess when the Plague raged greatly in *London* and some more Southern Parts. His Royal Highness staid at *York* till the 23d of *September*, when he took a Post-Chaise to go to the King and Parliament then assembled at *Oxford*. On *Tuesday* following the Duchess set forward; both of them expressing their Sense of the great Civilities, Honours, and Respect, which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the whole City shewed to them during their Residence in this Place.

When the Popish Plots, Bills of Exclusion, &c. ran high against the Duke, he chose to retire from Court; and the 6th of *November, 1679*, he came to *York*, in his Journey to *Edinburgh*, with his Duchess. At this Time his Highness was not received with all the Formalities above; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen thought fit only to attend him in his Presence-Chamber at Mr. *George Aislaby's* House in the *Minster-Yard*, where Mr. *Pricket*, Deputy-Recorder, made this short, but pithy Harangue to him *.

YOUR Royal Highness is very welcome to this antient and loyal City, which glories more in her known Loyalty, and in your Highness's Title of being Duke

Duke of York, than in the Birth and Residence of Emperors, wherewith she has formerly been honoured. Our Lives and Estates are all devoted to his Majesty's Service, under whose religious and peaceable Government we account ourselves happy; and we heartily wish Prosperity to his Majesty, your Royal Highness, and the whole Royal Family.

Notwithstanding the warm Expressions of Loyalty which this Speech testifies, the not receiving the Duke with that Ceremony which was requisite by the Magistrates, (though the Sheriffs of the City had done their Duty, in riding to Tadcaster to meet his Highness as usual) was resent at Court, and occasioned the following Reprimand in a Letter from the Secretary of State to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, which, as our Records give it, is as follows:

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,

THE King being given to understand that you did not receive his Royal Highness, upon his late coming to the City, with that Respect which was due to him, and in the Manner heretofore accustomed, his Majesty commands me to signify to you, that as he was much surprised by this your Proceeding, so he cannot but express to you his Dissatisfaction at it: And therefore his Majesty bids me let you know, that it is his express Pleasure, that whensoever his Royal Highness shall come again to York, you do not fail to attend and receive him in the like Manner as he was received there some Years ago, and as his Majesty has Reason to expect his Brother should be by all good Subjects in your Station.

My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,

Whitehall,
Nov. 21, 1679. }

Your most humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

The Slight put upon the King's Brother, and immediate Heir to the Crown, gained the City no good Will at Court; and the Magistracy at that Time being noted for Disaffection, they fell so far under the King's Displeasure, that a *Quo Warranto* was granted against them
by

by King *Charles II.* in 1684, the last Year of his Reign, to shew Cause how they came to usurp to themselves such and such Liberties, &c. Their Charter being also called for to be perused, was detained by the Ministry, nor was it renewed to them in this King's Reign, being prevented by his Majesty's Death, which happened the 6th of *February*, 1684.

In 1685 King *James II.* having called a Parliament, the Candidates for the City were Sir *John Reresby* and Sir *Metcalf Robinson*, Barts. and *Toby Jenkins* and *James Moyser*, Esqrs. The Struggle was great; and it appears by an Entry in the City's Books that the two former being chosen, the other in Resentment caused five Alderman, who were much in the elected Members' Interest, to be represented at Court as disaffected to the Government. Their Names were *Ramsden*, *Elcock*, *Herbert*, *Edward Thompson*, and *Walle*. All the said Aldermen, except *Herbert*, with some of the Common-Council, represented as disloyal in like Manner, were seized on by an Order of King and Council, *June 29*, and sent Prisoners to *Hull*, where they remained till the 25th of *July* following, when the Duke of *Monmouth's* Rebellion being quashed, they were released; and, notwithstanding the new Charter was not yet come down, they took their Places in their own Court as usual.

At the Summer Assizes, the Year before, the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferys* came down to *York*, as one of the Judges of Assize for this Circuit, and the Mayor and Aldermen being advised to wait upon him to know his Majesty's Pleasure concerning the City in the State it was, accordingly did; and, as the Entry in the City's Books declares, after a Speech made to him by Mr. *Pricket*, the City's Counsel, his Lordship expressed himself to this Effect: *That the King expected nothing but the Government of the City to be at his Dispose; and if the Mayor would call a Court and Common-Council, and make a Petition to his Majesty under the Common Seal to the Effect proposed, he would take Care to get it presented, and doubted not of a gracious Answer in a Week's Time. In the mean while all Things should stand in Statu quo.* A Petition was accordingly drawn up, and presented to the Lord Chief Justice, who approved of it, and sent it up to

to the King. And, in the second Week of the Affizes, being invited to Dinner at the City's Charge, he was treated at the Lord Mayor's House, and then and there the Lord Chief Justice declared he had received an Account, *That his Majesty was well pleased with the City's Petition, and assured them that they should have a new Charter, with that Proviso or Reservation only, of having the Nomination and Approbation of the Magistrates and Persons in Office therein.*

James II. was the King who granted our City the last Charter it has had, an Abstract of which may be met with in the second Volume. Great was the Joy the Citizens testified on that Occasion; an Account of which was sent up to London, and printed in the Gazette, Number 2060, 1685, as follows:

"York, August 8. This Evening was brought hither his Majesty's most Royal Charter to this City by Sir Henry Thompson, of Castlegate, and Mr. Scot, being met at some Distance from hence by a great many Horse and Foot, to the Number of near 5000, and received at the Gate of the City by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council in their Formalities, who passed from thence, amidst the continued Acclamations of the People, with Drums beating and Trumpets sounding, to the Lord Mayor's House, where the whole Company drank their Majesties Healths. The Streets were filled with Bonfires, the Musick played, the Bells rung, and nothing was omitted that might on this Occasion express the Duty and Loyalty of the Inhabitants of this City."

Our City continued to shew their Loyalty and Gratitude to this unfortunate King; and on every publick Occasion took Care to address his Majesty with the warmest Expressions of Love and Duty to his Person and Government; particularly, it is entered in the City's Books of 1688, that, June 18, upon the News brought to the City that the Queen was delivered of a young Prince, the Lord Mayor, (Thomas Raynes) Aldermen, Sheriffs, Four-and-Twenty, and Common-Council, did, with a full Consent, agree that the Lord Mayor should go to London, to address the King upon the joyful News of the Prince's Birth, and that Sir Henry Thompson and Sir Stephen Thompson, Knts. and Alderman Shackleton, with

with Mr. Sheriff *Bell* and Mr. *Thomas Thompson*, should accompany the Lord Mayor to Court on this Occasion. Ordered also, at the same Time, that the said Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Twenty-Four should have two Gallons of Wine to drink the King, Queen, and young Prince's Healths, and the Commons four Gallons for the like Purpose, all at the public Expence. The Address itself is, either through Carelessness or Wilfulness, lost from the City's Books, but is inserted in these Words in the *London Gazette*, July 30th, 1688.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

THE Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of your Majesty's antient and loyal City of *York* were transported with Joy at the Birth of the young Prince; and after they had made what Demonstrations they could at home of their Rejoicing, thought it their Duty to send, and have sent, some of the principal Members of their Body to congratulate your Majesty for so great and extraordinary a Blessing both to your Majesty and your Subjects. The great God, who hath at sundry Times miraculously preserved your Majesty, both at Sea and Land, hath at this Time enlarged his Blessings to your Majesty and your People by giving us a Royal Prince; who, we pray, may long live to inherit the Virtues and Crown of his Ancestors, and that there may never want one of your Royal Family to sway the Scepter of these Kingdoms; for the Support and Maintenance whereof we are, and shall always be, ready to sacrifice our Lives and Fortunes: And that the God of Heaven would be graciously pleased to shower down his Blessings upon your Majesty, your Royal Consort, the young Prince, and the whole Royal Family, is the hearty Prayer of us,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, obedient, and loyal Subjects, &c.

Which Address his Majesty received very graciously.

It was not long after this when the Tide beginning to turn against King *James*, the Affections and Declarations of his Citizens of *York* took also the same Bent.

As

CAPVT EX Aere ELIGANTISSIMVM



EBORACO REPERTVM

An Instance of which is the following Address of a very different Nature from the former, though not much different in Date, and from the same People.

To the High and Mighty Prince WILLIAM HENRY,
Prince of Orange,

The Humble Address of the Lord Mayor and Commonalty
of the City of York.

WE the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of the City of York, being deeply sensible of God Almighty's great Blessing upon this Nation, in inclining your princely Heart to hazard yourself and Fortune for the rescuing the Protestant Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom out of the Hands of those who have sacrificed them all to their boundless Malice, do render our due and humble Thanks to your Highness for so transcendent a Benefit to the Nation, whereof your Highness (next under God) hath apparently been the sole Instrument: And as we have been the earliest of those (who were not under the immediate Protection of your Highness's Army) that have shewed ourselves and joined with the Earl of *Danby*, and others of your Highness's Friends, in so glorious a Design, so we (as early as our Distance from your Highness can admit) do most humbly and heartily congratulate your happy Success, and promise still to stand by your Highness in Defence of the Protestant Religion and the Laws of the Kingdom, to the utmost Peril of our Lives and Fortunes; wishing to your Highness Length of Days and an happy Issue, and Increase of Honour proportionable to your great Worth, and that all your Enterprizes may be crowned with Success.

In Testimony whereof we have hereunto put our Common Seal the 14th Day of *December*, 1688.

From this Period till the Rebellion in 1745, nothing of public Transactions happened here worthy of Notice, except the several Proclamations for Peace, and Declarations of War; the Accession of the several Monarchs, and the Addresses of the City on these and similar Occasions, which are not thought sufficiently interesting to be here inserted; neither was this City, during that

long Interval, honoured with the Visits of any of the Royal Family.

His Grace *Thomas Herring*, then Archbishop of *York*, was amongst the first to alarm the Nation and arm it against the Rebels, by projecting an Association of the Nobility, Gentry, &c. of the County, which was entered into at the Castle of *York*, the 24th of *September*, 1745. On this Occasion his Lordship made the following Speech :

My Lords, Gentlemen, and Reverend Brethren of the Clergy,

I Am desired by the Lords Lieutenants of the Ridings to open to you the Reasons of our present assembling; and as the Advertisement which has called us together is in every Body's Hands, and the Fact now speaks itself too plainly, a few Words will be sufficient on the Occasion. It was some Time before it was believed, I would to God it had gained Credit sooner; but now every Child in the Kingdom knows it, that the Son of the Pretender is in *Scotland*; has set up his Standard there; has gathered and disciplined an Army of great Force; receives daily Increase of Numbers; is in Possession of the Capital City there; has defeated a small Part of the King's Forces; and is advancing with hasty Steps towards *England*. What will be the Issue of this rapid Progress, must be left to the Providence of God: However, what is incumbent upon us to do, is to make the best Provision we can against it; and every Gentleman, I dare say every Man in *England*, will think it his Wisdom and his Interest to guard against the mischievous Attempts of these wild and desperate Russians. But the great Mischief to be feared, which ought to alarm us exceedingly, and put us immediately on our Defence, is, the certain Evidence, which every Day opens more and more, that these Commotions in the North are but Part of a great Plan concerted for our Ruin: They have begun under the Countenance, and will be supported by the Forces of *France* and *Spain*, our old and inveterate, and late Experience calls upon me to add, our savage and blood-thirsty Enemies: A Circumstance that should fire the Indignation of every honest *Englishman*. If these Designs should succeed, and

Papery

Popery and Arbitrary Power come in upon us, under the Influence and Direction of these two tyrannical and corrupted Courts, I leave you to reflect what would become of every Thing that is valuable to us!

We are now blessed under the mild Administration of a Just and Protestant King, who is of so strict an Adherence to the Laws of our Country, that not an Instance can be pointed out during his whole Reign; wherein he made the least Attempt upon the Liberty or Property, or Religion of a single Person: But if the Ambition and Pride of *France* and *Spain* is to dictate to us, we must submit to a Man to govern us under their hated and accursed Influence, who brings his Religion from *Rome*, and the Rules and Maxims of his Government from *Paris* and *Madrid*.

For God's Sake, Gentlemen, let us consider this Matter as becomes us, and let no Time be lost to guard against this prodigious Ruin. To your immortal Honour be it spoken, you have considered it, and are now met together to call in the unanimous Consent and Assistance of this great County. This County, as it exceeds every other for its Extent and Riches, so it very naturally takes the Lead of the inferior ones, and will be extremely to our Credit, give Courage to the Friends of the best Constitution in the World, damp the Spirit of its Enemies at home, (if any such can be conceived in *Britain* at this dangerous Crisis) and be an Instruction to those abroad, that there is still Spirit and Honesty enough among us to stand up in Defence of our common Country. This will be the Use of an unanimous and hearty Declaration of Fidelity to our Country, and Loyalty to our King.

But the Times, Gentlemen, call for something more than this; something must be done as well as said; and the Fund for our Defence already begun, and now to be proposed to this great Assembly, will, it is hoped, from Reasons of public Example and public Safety, meet with the hearty Concurrence of every Individual that composes it; and at the same Time that your Hearts go along with the Association, your Hands will be open to support the necessary Measures of Self-defence.

As to you, my Reverend Brethren, I have not long had the Honour to preside among you; but from the

Experience I have had, and what I have always heard of your honest Love to your Country, if you permit me to say so, I will be your Security to the Public, that ye will decline no Pains to instruct and animate your People, nor Expence, according to your Circumstances, to stand up against Popery and arbitrary Power under a *French* or *Spanish* Government. We scorn the Policies of the Court of *Rome*; have no Interests separate from the People, but on every Occasion, where our Country is concerned, look upon ourselves as incorporated with the warmest Defenders of it; or if we do desire to be distinguished, it will be by our Ardour and Zeal to preserve our happy Constitution.

Let us unite then, Gentlemen, as one Man, to stop this dangerous Mischief, from which Union no Man surely can withdraw or withhold his Assistance, who is not listed into the wicked Service of a *French* or *Spanish* Invasion, or wholly unconcerned for the Fate of his bleeding Country.

May the great God of Battles stretch out his all-powerful Hand to defend us, inspire an Union of Hearts and Hands among all Ranks of People, a clear Wisdom into the Counsels of his Majesty, and a steady Courage and Resolution into the Hearts of his Generals.

This Association was subscribed by above 800 of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, when, together with the County at large, the Sum of 31,420 *l.* was raised by voluntary Subscription for the Defence of his Majesty's Person and Government in general, and of this County in particular.

On this Occasion *John Raper*, Esq; then Lord Mayor, called the Inhabitants of this City together for the same Purpose, when the Subscriptions in the City of *York* amounted to 2435 *l.* and in the Ainsty to 220 *l.* with which four Companies of Men were raised (consisting of 70 Men each, known by the Name of the *York Blues* exclusive of Serjeants, Corporals, and Drummers) and uniformly clothed. The Serjeants had 14 *s.* the Corporals and Drummers 10 *s.* per Week, and each private Man 1 *s.* per Day, and were embodied about four Months.

The following Gentlemen served as Officers without Pay, viz.

1st Comp. Capt. *William Haughton*, Lieut. *Belasise*, Ensign *Burdet*.

2d Comp. Capt. *Waite*, Lieut. *Hotbam*, Ensign *Knipe*.

3d Comp. Capt. *John Hotbam*, Lieut. *Hutchinson*, Ensign *Tbeakston*.

4th Comp. Capt. *Thompson*, Lieut. *Dawson*, Ensign *Dawson*.

Besides these the principal Gentlemen and Tradesmen in the different Wards of the City formed themselves into an Association, called *Independents*, for the further Security of the City, being all uniformly clothed and accoutred at their own Expence, and continued under Arms about ten Months, and were disposed in the following Order:

Bootham-Ward. Col. *Pierston*, Lieut. *Bains*, Ensign *Bower*; 45 Private, 1 Serjeant, and 1 Drum.

Micklegate-Ward. Capt. *Adams*, Lieut. *Stanforth*, Ensign *Brook*; 48 Private, 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal, and 1 Drum.

Monk-Ward. Capt. *Patrick Agnew*, Lieut. *John Wilmer*, Ensign *John Hildyard*; 46 Private, 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal, and 1 Drum.

Walmgate-Ward. Capt. *Walkinshaw*, Lieut. *Beaulay*, Ensign *Hornsey*; 46 Private, 1 Serjeant, 1 Corporal, and 1 Drum.

These Gentlemen allowed their Serjeants 7 s. per Week, Corporals 5 s. and the Drummers 3 s. 6 d. with Uniforms.

Notwithstanding this, and though not one of the Inhabitants of *York* was proved to be concerned in the Rebellion, yet the City in general laid under the Imputation of Disloyalty, being a Place at that Time, and for many Years before, greatly resorted to, if not constantly inhabited, by many of the best Roman Catholic Families in the Kingdom.

May 28, 1746, after the decisive Battle of *Culloden*, the Prince of *Hesse* arrived here in his Way from *Scotland*: He was complimented by the Lord Mayor and

Aldermen at his Quarters, whom he received very politely, and the next Day continued his Journey towards London.

On the 23d of July following, his Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland, in Compliance with the Request of the Lord Mayor and Commonalty, sent by Express to him the 9th of May preceding, made this City his Road to London, and arrived here about Nine in the Evening, attended by Lord Cathcart, Lord Ancrum, Col. Yorke, Col. Fitzwilliam, Capt. Hudson, Col. Boscarwen, and Col. Conway. He alighted at the Precentor's House * in the Minster-Yard, (his Royal Highness having desired to be at a private House, and that being the most commodious for the Purpose) where he was received by his Grace the Lord Archbishop in the Hall, who congratulated his Royal Highness's Arrival here in a very polite Speech. Sir Thomas Parker and Sir Thomas Burnet, the two Judges of Assize, with the Gentlemen of the Bar; Lord Irwin, Henry Ibbetson, Esq; the High-Sheriff; Capt. Thornton †, and several other Gentlemen; the Rev. the Dean and Residentiaries, &c. were admitted. His Royal Highness took Part of a Collation provided at the City's Expence, and sat at Table with his Grace the Archbishop of York; and his Attendants supped in another Room. After Supper, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs waited upon his Royal Highness with the Freedom of this City in a Gold Box, when Thomas Place, Esq; the Recorder, addressed him in the following Speech:

May it please your Royal Highness,

THE City of York begs Leave to congratulate your Highness on your safe Arrival here, secure from those Dangers to which, for the Sake of your Country only, you exposed yourself; and to express their Sense of the Honour done them by being admitted into the
Pre-

* Dr. Sterne.

† William Thornton, Esq; of Thornville, near York, who, at his own Expence, raised, clothed, and paid a Company of 75 Men, with whom he marched into Scotland, and was with them at the Battle of Falkirk. The Serjeants and Drums had 1s. 2d. the Corporals 1s. 1d. and the private Men 1s. a Day.—Mr. Thornton was afterwards one of the Representatives of this City in Parliament.

Presence of their immediate Deliverer from all those Evils which Popery and Slavery threatened; the Preserver of all those Blessings to us, which, under his Majesty's most auspicious Government, we have in every Circumstance of Life the full Enjoyment of.

This City, had they had a more timely Notice of the Honour your Royal Highness now does them, would have attempted to have received your Highness in a Manner more agreeable to what they intended. But at present can only, as a small Testimony of their Duty to his Majesty and his Family, and as a small Acknowledgment of what they owe personally to your Royal Highness, beg your Acceptance of this Box, and to permit them to enroll your Name as a Member of this City: An Honour our Ancestors have in no Times ever equalled, and which our Posterity must ever with Gratitude and Duty remember so long as his Majesty's Family shall continue upon the Throne of these Kingdoms, and your Royal Highness's glorious and heroic Acts shall be remembered, which we most sincerely wish may be as long as Time itself shall endure.

His Royal Highness received them very graciously, and they all had the Honour of kissing his Hand; and he was pleased to say, *That he took the City's Compliment very kindly, and should always have a particular Regard for the Welfare of his Fellow-Citizens.*

About Twelve the same Night his Royal Highness and Attendants set out for *London.*

His Grace the Lord Archbishop having informed his Royal Highness, that the Independent Gentlemen of this City designed to have received his Royal Highness with Military Honours, the said Gentlemen were, the next Day, drawn out in the *Manor-Yard*, where Col. *Peirson* acquainted them, "That he had his Royal Highness's Orders to thank them for the Zeal and Loyalty they had lately shewn for his Majesty's Person and Government; that he was sorry the Emergency of Affairs was such, that he could not have Time to receive the Compliment they designed; but that he took it in as good Part as if they had done it."

Of the great Number of Rebels tried and convicted at *York*, no more than 22 were executed. The Heads of two of them, *viz.* *William Conolly* and *James Mayne*, were fixed up on Poles at *Micklegate-Bar*, from whence they were stolen in the Night of the 28th of *January*, 1754, by one *William Arundell*, a Taylor of *York*, assisted by his *Irish* Journeyman: But the Taylor paid dear for his Frolick; for in *March* following the Rewards offered by the Government, the Corporation of *York*, and the Members of the *Rockingham-Club*, amounting in the whole to 112 *l.* 10 *s.*, tempted the *Irishman* to turn Informer against his Master, who was thereupon committed to *Ousebridge* Gaol, was indicted at the Summer-Assizes following, and tried and convicted at the Lent-Assizes in 1755, when he received Sentence to pay a Fine of 5 *l.* to be imprisoned two Years, and till he found Sureties, in 200 *l.* Penalty, for his good Behaviour for two Years more.

The new Regulations of the Militia Laws in the Year 1757, being esteemed by the lower Class of People an Act of Oppression, in compelling them to contribute equally with the Rich, many Yeomen, Farmers, and others of the East and North-Ridings became riotous, and endeavoured by Force to oppose its being carried into Execution; for this Purpose, on the 13th of *September*, a very numerous Body, out of forty Townships in the Weapontake of *Buckrose*, in the East-Riding, armed with Guns, Scythes, and Clubs, went to *Bird-fall*, the Seat of *Henry Willoughby*, Esq; High Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, and demanded a Repeal of the Militia Act. But, after several Hours Parley with them, in which the High Sheriff behaved with the utmost Prudence and Resolution, they were prevailed on to depart peaceably, having first extorted a Promise from him to write to Lord *Irwin*, Lord Lieutenant of the Riding, and that his Lordship's Answer should be communicated to them; which was done accordingly, a large Number of printed Copies thereof being sent to all the Chief Constables in the East-Riding, to be by them dispersed amongst the People.

In the North-Riding the Riot was much more furious, for on the 15th of *September*, being the Day appointed for

for the Deputy-Lieutenants of the Militia for the Weapontake of *Bulmer* to meet at the Cockpit-House without *Bootham-Bar*, where the Chief Constables had Orders to attend to give in their Lists of Persons qualified to serve in the Militia, great Numbers of Farmers and Country People, consisting of upwards of thirty Parishes, assembled at *York*, in order to seize on such Constables as were carrying in the Lists; some of which they got, but not meeting with the whole, they proceeded, in a large Body, armed with Clubs and other unlawful Weapons, some on Horseback and others on Foot, thro' *Monk-Bar* to the Cockpit-House without *Bootham-Bar*: And not meeting with the Deputy-Lieutenants there assembled, as was expected, they forced the Lists from such Constables as were in Attendance; and after drinking all the Liquors in the House, they gutted and pulled it down. They then proceeded to Mr. *Bowes's* House on the opposite Side of the Street, and within the City Liberty, which they also gutted and destroyed; and they threatened to do the same to the Houses of several other Persons, whom they looked upon as Promoters or Favourers of the Militia Act.

The Lord Mayor and High Sheriff of the County being informed of these violent Proceedings, went in Person amongst the Rioters, and used all possible Arguments to convince them how wrong it was to attempt relieving themselves from any Thing they thought a Grievance, by such unlawful Methods; and assured them that they would use all the Means in their Power to remove any just Occasion of Complaint; upon which they dispersed.

At the following Affizes several of the Rioters were tried and acquitted, except one *George Thurlow*, who was capitally convicted, and received Sentence of Death, but was afterwards transported for Life.

On *Saturday* the 18th of *July*, 1761, about Nine in the Morning, his Royal Highness *Edward Duke of York*, accompanied by Sir *William Boothby*, Bart. Col. *Morrison*, and Major *St. John*, passed through this City on his Way to *Scarborough*, whither he was going for the Benefit of the Spaw; and on the *Monday* following *Thomas Bowes*, Esq; Lord Mayor, *Peter Johnson*, Esq; Recorder,

and two senior Aldermen, set out for *Scarborough* to wait on his Royal Highness, and were introduced to him the next Day by Major *St. John*; when the Recorder, in a short Speech, made the Compliments of the Corporation to his Royal Highness, and signified it as their humble Request that his Royal Highness would do them the Honour to make some Stay in this City on his Return from *Scarborough*, and to accept of the Mansion-House of the Lord Mayor for his Accommodation: To which his Royal Highness was pleased to return a most gracious Answer, expressing his Satisfaction at this Instance of Respect from the City, and his Inclination to comply with their Request; but that at this Juncture his Royal Highness feared he should not have Time to make any long Stay on his Return. They had all the Honour to kiss his Royal Highness's Hand.

Accordingly on the 19th of *August*, his Royal Highness arrived in this City in his Return from *Scarborough*, alighted from his Chaise at the Minster, and spent some Time in viewing that magnificent Structure. From thence he came down *Stonegate* (which was lined with Col. *Thornton's* Regiment of Militia, under Arms) to the Mansion-House, where he was received by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Sheriffs in their Formalities. The Recorder made the Compliments of the whole Corporation to his Royal Highness, with an humble Offer of the Freedom of the City; to which his Royal Highness returned a very gracious Answer; and the Freedom of the City was accordingly presented to him in a Gold Box of an hundred Guineas Value, and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Town-Clerk had all the Honour to kiss his Royal Highness's Hand. Afterwards his Royal Highness dined at the Mansion-House, where a very elegant Entertainment was provided; and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, the Earl of *Gainsbrough*, the Gentlemen of his Royal Highness's Household, with the other Gentlemen who attended him hither, and the principal Officers of Col. *Thornton's* Regiment of Militia, had the Honour to dine at the same Table. In the Evening the Corporation gave a Ball at the Assembly-Rooms, which was very full and brilliant, and was opened by his Royal Highness with Miss *Kaye*, Sister to Sir *John Lister Kaye*,
Bart.

Bart. High Sheriff for this County. His Royal Highness staid till about One o'Clock, and then retired to the Mansion-House, where he lodged. Next Morning about Seven he reviewed Col. Thornton's Regiment of Militia on *Knaveſmire*, with whose Appearance, and Dexterity in their several Evolutions, he expressed great Satisfaction, saying, *He never ſaw any Veterans that exceeded them*; after which he breakfasted at the Grand Stand with the Colonel and several Ladies and Gentlemen, and then took his Chaise and set off for London. His Royal Highness, on leaving this City, was pleased to express himself very graciously to the Lord Mayor, and gave him Hopes that this County and City might be honoured by his Royal Highness's Presence on some future Occasion.

On the 18th of *August*, 1766, (in the Race-Week) his Royal Highness again visited this City, and next Day the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Sheriffs waited on his Royal Highness in their Formalities, to congratulate him on his Arrival, and were very graciously received. The Presence of his Royal Highness at the Races occasioned a more numerous and brilliant Appearance of Nobility and Gentry than ever was known. On *Sunday* his Royal Highness went to the Minster, at the West Door of which he was received by the Residentiary and Choir, the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, who ushered him up to the Archbishop's Throne, where he heard an excellent Discourse by the Rev. Mr. *Sterne*; and on *Monday* he set out for Mr. *Cholmley's* Seat at *Housham*, on his Way to *Scarborough*.

His Royal Highness left *Scarborough* on the 6th of *September*, and passed thro' this City in his Way to the Earl of *Mexborough's* Seat at *Metbley*, from whence he proceeded to *London*.

August 31, 1768, his *Danish* Majesty arrived at Mr. *Blunt's* Inn in *Lendall*, about Four o'Clock, attended by many of his Nobles and a grand Retinue. At Eight o'Clock the Lord Mayor, Recorder, City Counsel, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, in their Formalities, waited on that Monarch to compliment him on his Arrival, and to desire that he would honour them at a Ball and a Col-

360 *The HISTORY and ANTIQUITIES*

lation the next Evening. His *Danish* Majesty received them all very graciously, but excused himself from accepting of their Invitation, as he proposed to leave *York* next Morning; which he accordingly did, after having viewed the Minster and the Assembly-Rooms, and returned to *London* by the Route of *Leeds* and *Manchester*.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.



INDEX

INDEX to the FIRST VOLUME.

	Page.
A BACOT, the Royal Cap, so called, taken in the Equipage of Henry VI. at Hexham, with which Edward IV. was crowned	198
Aclud, City, now Aldborough	7
Adda (Son of Ida) King of Bernicia	107
Adrian, see Hadrian.	
Ætius, the last Roman Lieutenant, his Departure and Advice to the Britons thereon, with their Letter to him	98
Agincourt, Battle of	193
Legendary Tale of the Shrine of St. John of Beverley sweating Blood on the Day of that Battle	ib.
Agricola, some Reason to believe that he was Founder of York	10
Alain, Earl of Britain, Grant to him by his Uncle William the Conqueror of all the Lands of Edwin Earl of Chester in Yorkshire	141
Alcuin, his Opinion that York derives its Original from the Romans	10
His prophetic Letter to Egbert, King of Northumberland	114
Aldborough, formerly called Aclud, several of Carausius's, Coins found there	33
Aldermen of York, several displaced and disfranchised for their Loyalty to Charles I. and several others chosen for their Disaffection	337
Five accused of Disaffection to James II. imprisoned at Hull, and afterwards took their Places in their own Court	346
Alexander II. King of Scots, in 1220, married at York to Ivan the Sister of Henry III.	163
He and Henry III. kept Christmas together at York in 1230	164
Alexander III. King of Scots, Knighthood conferred on him and twenty other young Noblemen by Henry III. at York in 1251, and next Day he married the Daughter of Henry III. at York	165
Did Homage to the King of England for Lands held in Lothian—His Answer to Henry III. on requesting him to do Homage for Scotland, and to the Earl Marshal of England, on demanding his Palfrey for being knighted	166
The great Profusion of Victuals, &c. at the Celebration of his Nuptials—His Departure for Scotland with his Bride and her Attendants	167
The Deaths of them and their two Children	ib.
Allectus succeeded Carausius, and reigned till Constantius Chlorus was made Emperor, by whom he was slain—His Coins equally common with those of Carausius	33
	All-Saints,

	<i>Page</i>
All-Saints, North-street, Part of a Monument described, which was found in the South Wall of this Church	58
Ansfid, Successor to Edwin in the Kingdom of Bernicia	109
Put to Death by Cadwallo	110
Anlaff, his Rebellion in Conjunction with Godfrey—Flight and Battle with Athelstan	122
His Return to England, and Conquest of Northumberland	123
His Battle and Treaty with Edmund at Chester	124
Revolt of the Northumbrians from him, and his Civil War and Treaty with Reginald	ib.
Restored to the Kingdom of Northumberland, and again expelled	125
His Civil Wars with Eric	126
Antoninus, his Itinerary	11
Apotheosis, or Deification of the Roman Emperors, the Ceremony of it described	36
Archbishops, Dispute between them about wearing their Crosses in each other's Province	182
Arch, Roman, a noble one standing at Micklegate-Bar	65
Arthur, the Time of his Coronation, and several Defeats of the Saxons by him	102
His Attempt to take York, and raising the Siege on the Approach of Childric—York afterwards delivered up to him	103
His Expedition to destroy Scotland—His Regulations in Church Affairs—Kept Christmas at York	104
Censured for his Extravagance	ib.
Slain in a Rebellion by the Hands of his Nephew	106
Artogal, or Archigallus, a British Prince—Dispossessed of his Crown and Dignity, and his Brother Elidurus advanced	7
His Re-establishment in the Government; Death and Burial at York	8
Arundell, William, fined and imprisoned for stealing the Heads of two Rebels from off Micklegate-Bar	356
Aske, Robert, Esq; his Insurrection on Account of the Suppression of Religious Houses	241
Hung in Chains on a Tower at York	242
Assize, Lent, 1648-9, a great Gaol Delivery, twenty-one being executed at York	338
Affociation, recommended by Archbishop Herring, against the Rebels in 1745	350
Subscribed by above 800, and the Money which was raised by voluntary Subscription in Yorkshire, York, and the Ainsty	352
Astley, Sir Jacob, Commander of King Charles's Army at the Beginning of the Civil Wars	269
Athelstan,	

	Page.
Athelstan, Submission of the Danish Kings to him—His Conquest of York and Northumberland, and Battle with Godfrey and Anlaf	122
His Defeat of the Danes and their Auxiliaries—Sole Monarch of England—His Death and Bequest of the Kingdom to Edmund	123
Aurelian sent Constantius an Aid into Britain, and his Motive for it	34
Aurelius Ambrosius, his Pursuit of Osa and Eosa, and their Surrender	100
Restored the Church and its Worship, &c.	101

B

B ADON-HILLS, Battle of, between Arthur and the Saxons	103
Baliol and Bruce, two most remarkable Claimants of the Crown of Scotland	108
King of Scots, Matters adjusted between him and Edward III.—Was to have done Homage to Edward III. and the Reason why he did not	182
Bardolph, his Defeat (by Arthur) on his Way to York to relieve his Brother; his Stratagem afterwards to gain Access to him	102
Barnard-Castle, Siege of it by the Rebels against Q. Elizabeth, and its Capitulation	247
Barnet, Battle of, between Henry VIth and Edward IVth's Forces	104
Barons, English, several tried and executed for High Treason to Edward II.	172
Bath, Robert, Bishop of, Warrant from Henry VII. to attach his Body and seize his Goods	225
Beckwith, Thomas, of York, Roman Antiquities in his Possession	96
Coins in his Possession	97
Belinus and Brennus, their joint Government in Britain; their Variance and Battle in Calatar Wood, with the Victory of the former	8
Bellona, a Temple of, at York; only built in principal Cities of the Roman Empire; served here to denounce War from a Pillar before it—The Death of Severus prefiged by his being led to it by an ignorant Augur	15
Stood without Bootham—Its probable Situation	16
Bellum Standardi, or the Battle of the Standard, fought near Northallerton	149
Benedict, one of the richest Jews at York, who went to the Coronation of Richard I.—Compelled to renounce Judaism, and be baptized	154
His Declaration on being brought before the King, and his Death	155
His House broke and plundered, and his Family murdered	ib.

Bern,

	Page.
Bern, his Trial and Judgment for the Murder of Lothbroch the Dane; his landing in Denmark, and the Lie which he fabricated, and told to the Danish King	119
Bernicia, the Name of the Northern Division of the Kingdom of the Northumbers, made by Oeta and Eofa	102
Its Extent	107
Anfrid, Successor to Edwin, in it	109
Revolt in it from Osbert, and the Election of Ella to the Sovereignty	116
Berwick besieged by Edward II.	171
Siege raised	172
Bethell, Colonel, Gen. Lambert's own Regiment given to him by Monk	339
Bishopfields, Half of King Charles's Army encamped there, and conjoined to the other Half by a Bridge of Boats across the River Ouse	269
Blackburn, Lieutenant, and others, executed at York	338
Blues (York) four Companies of, raised and paid by Subscription; their Number and Pay, in 1745	352
List of Officers who served without Pay	353
Bootham, a very considerable Part of the Town in the Time of the Romans—Temple of Bellona stood without the Bar	16
Several Roman Sarcophagi found there—Probably the Burial-Place at York	80
Boroughbridge, Battle of, between Edw. II. and his Barons	172
Bowes, Sir George, his Capitulation at Barnard-Castle	247
Made Marshal of the Army	ibid.
His Revenge on the Rebels	248
Bowes, Sir Robert, the Submission and Present of 200 Yorkshire Gentlemen, &c. made by him on the King's (Henry VIII.) entering the County	243
Bradshaw, Judge, and Oliver Cromwell, hanged and burnt in Effigy at York	343
Bramham-Moor, Battle of, between the Forces of Hen. IV. and the Earl of Northumberland	189
Brearey, Mr. Samuel, (an Alderman's Son) slain at the Siege of York in 1644	325
Brennus, his joint Rule in Britain with Belinus, by whom he was driven out and vanquished	6
Britain, the Time of the Romans leaving it—Conquered by the Picts and Scots	98
The Means used by Hengist to secure it to the Saxons	100
The Division of the Northern Part of it by Oeta and Eofa	102
Britons, their Letter to Ætius	98
The Reason of their Dispiritedness on the Romans leaving Britain; the Calling in of the Saxons, and Defeat of the Picts and Scots	99
Their Resentment of the Treatment and Defeat of the Saxons in four several Battles	100
Bromford,	

	<i>Page.</i>
Bromford, Battle of, between Athelstane and the North- umbrian Danes — — —	123
Browney-Dike, its Etymology — — —	32
Bruce, David, his Invasion of England in the King's Ab- sence, and the Havock which he made — —	182
His Defeat by Queen Philippa—Is delivered Prisoner to her at York — — —	183
Bruern, Bocard, his Repentment to Osbert for committing a Rape on his Lady — — —	115
His obtaining Aid from Denmark — — —	116
The Landing of the Danes under his Conduct, and their March towards York — — —	117
Buckingham, Duke of, his taking up Arms against Rich- ard III. and Proclamation of his being a Traitor at York — — —	216 to 220
Burial-Place, Roman, probably in Bootham — — —	80
Byron, Sir Philip, slain at the Siege of York in 1644 — —	325
Byzantium, the Removal of the Seat of the Roman Empire thither from Rome — — —	44

C

C ADWALLO routed Ofrick and put Anfrid to Death—	110
Defeated by Oswald — — —	<i>ib.</i>
Calatar Wood, Battle of — — —	6
Caledonians (in Commodus's Reign) cut in Pieces the Ro- man Army, and repulsed afterwards by Mar- cellus Ulpus — — —	11
Their Retreat North of Hadrian's Wall on the Approach of Severus — — —	12
Attacked the Roman Empire on the Frontiers — —	18
Cambridge, Richard Earl of, and others, beheaded in 1415	193
Camden, the first who took Notice of the Relicks of Ro- man Antiquities at York — — —	54
Caracalla, Son of Severus, left in the North to inspect the Building of the great Wall — — —	13
Diffolute, inhuman, and ambitious of Govern- ment—More than once attempted the Life of his Father — — —	17
Jointly with Geta succeeded Severus in the Govern- ment, from whence he derived his Name—His Father's Physicians put to Death by him — —	24
His incestuous Marriage and Character — — —	26
Carausius rebelled against the Emperor Dioclesian, and got himself proclaimed Emperor at York—Over- came Quintus Bassianus—Entered into League with the Picts and Scots, and gave up to them, for their Services, all the Land from Hadrian's Wall to York—Called himself Cæsar — — —	32
His Coins found no where but in this Island — —	33
Many of them found at York and Aldborough— Slain at York — — —	<i>ib.</i>
Car-Dike, the Way by which Provisions were brought from the South to supply the Roman Army in the North	28

	Page.
Castle of York, the Place where it now stands probably used as a Repository for Corn by the Romans —	31
Razed to the Ground —	123
Cassibelaun, King of the Trinobantes, made Peace with the Romans —	9
Retired to York, where he died and was buried —	ib.
Chambre, John a, and Sir John Egremont, Leaders in an Insurrection on the Land-Tax being imposed in 1409, taken Prisoners —	233
Executed at York (with a Number of his Men) as a Traitor Paramount —	234
Chancery and King's Bench Courts removed to York —	184
Charles I. his Succession to his Father James; Reception at York on his Way to Scotland in 1663, and the Speech of the Lord Mayor on his entering the City —	258
The Places and Manner of his Entertainment at York, and the Presents which he received—His Reception at York, on his Expedition against the Scotch Rebels, and the Speech of Thomas Wid- drington, Recorder, on his entering Micklegate- Bar —	261
Held a special Council at the Manor on the Scotch Affairs —	263
Kept his Maunday at York Cathedral in 1639, and the Ceremony of it —	264
Touched for the King's Evil—His charitable Dona- tions during his Stay in York—Nobly treated be- fore he left York—His Departure with his Army; March towards Scotland, and the Submission of the Rebels to him —	265
His Journey to York, with others, to quell the Re- bels, and the Proclamation which he published from thence—Rode about the City, and marked out Intrenchments and Fortifications—His Com- mand sent to the Rebels at Newcastle —	266
The Substance of a Petition from the Scots for Re- dress of Grievances, with his Answer to it —	267
Summoned all the Peers to attend him at York —	268
The Form of the Writ issued for that Purpose; his Army march into York —	269
The Encampment of his Army —	ib.
The Military Stores brought from York to Hull to supply his Army, and the Precaution which he took against an Attack from the Scots—Petitioned by many to call a Parliament—His Summons of the Yorkshire Gentry, and Proposal for Payment of their Trained-Bands for two Months, with their Accession to it, and Petition to compose Differences with the Scots, and summon a Parliament —	270
Petition to him from the distressed Inhabitants of the County of Northumberland and Bishoprick of Durham	

Durham, complaining of the Oppressions of the Scotch—His Speech to the great Assembly of Peers at York	271
Charles I. his Treaty by Commissioners with the Scotch at Ripon	272
His Army supported by borrowing 200,000 <i>l.</i> of the City of London, according to a Resolution of the Great Council	273
Many of his Commissioners, of the same Principles as the Rebels, persuaded him to remove the Treaty to London, and subject the Country to Contribution, rather than suffer the Earl of Strafford to dislodge them	275
His Removal with his Lords to London to meet the Parliament—His Slowness in calling the Parliament accounted for—His Visit to York, with the Prince of Wales and others, on his Way to Scotland to summon a Parliament there to try their Tempers towards him	276
His Removal with his Court from London to York, as a Place of greater Safety—Petition presented to him, subscribed by great Numbers of the Yorkshire Nobility, &c.	277
His Answer to the Petition	278
His further Answer to it	280
Ordered the Printers to set up their Presses at York to carry on a Paper War—Kept Maunday and St. George at York in 1642	281
His Repulse by Sir John Hotham at Hull	282
His Message to the Parliament, with a Relation of his Motives of going to Hull; his Treatment there, and Demand of Justice against Sir John Hotham	283
Petition to him from the Yorkshire Gentry concerning the Magazine at Hull	<i>ib.</i>
The Answer from the Parliament to his Message	285
Amused himself with Speeches and Remonstrances whilst the Parliament were laying in Stores of Money and Ammunition—Conclusion of his Answer to the Declaration, Votes, and Order of Assistance concerning Hull Magazine—His Speech to the Yorkshire Gentry assembled at York in 1642 according to Summons	286
The several Answers which he received from the republican and loyal Parties, with his Reply to the former	288
His Reply to the Answer of the Loyalists—Troops raised to guard his Person—His Court kept in the Minster-Yard—Letter sent by him to the Yorkshire Gentry, in Consequence of Force being raised to guard his Person	289

	<i>Page</i>
Charles I. gave Notice for the Removal of the Term to York, but obstructed by the Parliament—List of Peers who left their Seats and came to pay their Duty to him at York	294
Petition to him from the Parliament to disband his Guard	295
His Answer	296
His Proclamations forbidding any Force to muster by Order of Parliament, and for an Assembly of the People on Heworth-Moor	299
Met by the People on Heworth-Moor, and his Declaration to the Lords and others of his Privy-Council at York	300
The Engagement which forty of the Peers entered into with him	301
His solemn Protestation against making War upon his Parliament, and his Request to the Peers to attest his Inclination	302
His Intentions evidently pacifick	303
Several publick Acts by him whilst he kept his Court at York	304
Attended by the Yorkshire Gentry according to Summons	305
His Speech on taking his last Leave of the Yorkshire Gentry	306
Several other Acts of State by him, and a Proclamation requiring the People to repair to his Standard at Nottingham	309
His Erection of his Standard at Nottingham, and Appointment of the Earl of Cumberland to the supreme Command	311
Several Towns and Garrisons reduced by his Forces, lost and won again—the chief Quarters of his Army often at York	314
The Arrival of his Queen at Bridlington Quay, and from thence her Journey to and Arrival at York	315
The Manner of his raising, paying, and sustaining the Men employed in Arms, and repairing the Fortifications of York	316
Petition to his Queen at York from the Nobility and Gentry of Yorkshire	317
The Departure of his Queen from York, and safe Conduct to him—A remarkable Instance of the Queen's Generosity to the Prisoners of War at York	318
His Forces defeated at Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax at Marston-Moor by the Parliament's Forces	329
Beheaded	337
Charles II. proclaimed King at York	342
The Procession and Rejoicings on that Proclamation	343
	Charts

Charta Magna and Edward I. his Confirmation of them		
Charta de Foresta. } read in Parliament at York, and a		
heavy Curse pronounced against those		
who should break the same	—	168
Chester, Battle of, between Edmund and Anlaf	—	124
Edwin, Earl of, Grant of all his Lands by William		
the Conqueror to his Nephew Alain	—	141
Childric, on his Approach, the Siege of York raised by Arthur		103
Cholmley, Sir Hugh, Governor of Scarbrough Castle	—	316
Christ-Church in York, how called in ancient Charters		17
Christmas kept at York by Arthur, being the first Time of		
its being kept in Britain	—	104
by Henry III.	—	164
by Edward II.	—	170, 174
by Edward III.	—	180
again on his March to Scotland	—	182
Church Affairs—Regulations in them by Arthur	—	104
And its Worship restored by Aurelius Ambrosius		101
Cities and chief Towns, twenty casually burnt in 1138,		
York being one of them	—	148
Clarence, Duke of, slain in France	—	194
Clarendon, Lord, his Remark on the summoning of the		
Peers to York by King Charles	—	268
Elements, Saint, Fossgate, eighty Lincolnshire Men buried		
under one Stone in the Church-Yard there	—	177
Clifford, Lord, his dislodging March's Detachment at Ferry-		
bridge	—	195
His Death	—	196
Clifford-Moor, Rebels against Queen Elizabeth mustered		
there, and marched to Barnard-Castle	—	247
Clifford's Tower, the Lord Mayor appointed Governor of		
it, and that excepted—York dismantled of its		
Garrison	—	337
Clifton Fields, Half of King Charles's Army there encamped		269
Coilus lived, died, and was buried at York; probably suc-		
ceeded by his Son Lucius	—	11
Coins, Roman, Collection of, in the Hands of Dr. Langwith		67
Observations on them	—	77
in the Possession of W. White, M. D. F. S. A.		90
in the Possession of Tho. Beckwith, F. S. A.		97
Colgrin, Son of Ella, defeated by Arthur, shuts himself up		
in York	—	102
Commons of England granted Edward I. the ninth Penny		
of their Goods	—	168
Constable, Sir Robert, hung in Chains over Beverley-Gate		
at Hull	—	242
Constantine the Great born in the Beddern	—	17
The Time of his Birth	—	33
His Flight from Rome, and presenting himself to		
his Father when on his Death-Bed	—	35
Succeeded his Father	—	36

	<i>Page</i>
Constantine proclaimed Successor to his Father at York, and accepted the Empire with Reluctance —	39
Presented with the Tufa, or Golden Ball, by the British Soldiers—The Time and probable Place of his Birth — — —	40
Proofs of his being born at York — — —	41, 42
Division of his Dominions—In his Time York probably the Capital of Britain — —	43
Removed the Seat of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople—Died in 337 — —	44
Constantius (Father of Constantine the Great) laid in the demolished Church of St. Helen on the Wall in Aldwark — — —	17
Slew Allectus, and reduced the Province to Obedience—Married Helena, a British Lady	33
Her Character by different Authors — —	ib.
The Time of his Expedition to Britain—The End of his being sent by Aurelian—Made Proprætor, and lived several Years in this Island —	34
Time and Place of his Death, and the Manner of his Death—Bed Behaviour described —	35
His Funeral Obsequies performed at York, and Deification conferred upon him — —	36
— Character by Eusebius — — —	37
— Sepulchre supposed to be found in the Parish Church of St. Helen on the Wall, with a burning Lamp in it — — —	38
Cooper, Sir Edmund, displaced from the Office of Lord Mayor of York for his Loyalty to Charles I. —	336
Cornwall, Sir John, and another English Knight, fought a Duel at York with two foreign Knights in the Presence of Henry IV. who rewarded Sir John's Valour — — —	189
Council-Court at York voted down by Parliament — —	276
Courts of Justice removed to York — — —	169, 184
Crispus, a Gold one, found without Bootham-Bar —	67
Croft, Christopher, knighted by King Charles I. — —	276
Cromwell, Oliver, the main Instrument of gaining the Victory of Marston-Moor — — —	331
Memorial of his being at York, and entertained and complimented by the Lord Mayor — —	338
And Judge Bradshaw hanged and burned in Effigy in the Pavement — — —	343
Cumberland, Earl of, appointed supreme Commander of the Country in Military Affairs by Charles I. —	311
Cumberland, William Duke of, his Arrival and Reception at York after the Battle of Culloden—The Freedom of York presented to him in a Gold Box, and the Speech of the Recorder on that Occasion — — —	354
	Cumberland,

	<i>Page</i>
Cumberland, William, Duke of, his Answer to the Recorder's Speech, and Message to the Gentlemen Independents who intended to have received him with Military Honours	355
Curiosities, Roman, found in and about York, in the Possession of different Persons	66
Curse, a heavy one, pronounced at York against those who should break the Charter, called Magna Charta and Charta de Foresta	168

D

D ANES, their Character as Warriors, and the several Descents which they made upon Britain	114
Their Landing under Bruern and March towards York—Combined against by Osbert and Ella	117
Became Masters of York	<i>ib.</i>
Their Battle with Ella	118
— Invasion of Northumberland, and Battle with the Saxons at York, wherein the Saxons were defeated	119
— Cruel Usage of the People	120, 121
And their Auxiliaries defeated by Athelstan	123
Driven out by King Edmund, and their Dominions annexed to his	125
Edred's Indulgence to them—Their Attack on him on his March Southward, and his Return to York to subdue them	126
Darcy, Lord, and others, their Insurrection against Henry VIII. which they styled "The Pilgrimage of Grace"	241
David, King of Scots, his Incurſion into England and Siege of York	148
Routed at the Battle of the Standard near Northallerton	149
Deanry of York, the great Assembly of Peers there attending Charles I.	271
Deification of the Roman Emperors, the Ceremony of it described	36
Deira, the Name of the Southern Division of the Kingdom of the Northumbers made by Oſta and Eoſa	102
York the Capital of Deira—its original Extent—The East-Riding of Yorkshire afterwards bore that Name—Edwin the Great first Saxon King of it	107
Oſrich Succeſſor to Edwin	109
Denmark, King of, (Guilthdacus) his Captivity and Release by Belinus	6
Christian VII. King of, his Arrival and Reception at York in 1768	358
Devonſhire, (Thomas Courtney) Earl of, taken Priſoner at the Battle of Towton	197
With others beheaded, and their Heads placed on Micklegate-Bar	198

Digby, Simon, and others, hanged, headed, and quartered at York for their Conspiracy against Q. Elizabeth	248
Diogenes, M. Verecundus, Inscription on his Monument, and Explanation of it by Burton	55
Other explanatory Observations upon it	56
Full Interpretation of the Inscription	57
Doomsday-Book and Records brought to York in 1319	170
Drought, a great one, from March to August in 1614	256
Durham, sixty-six of the Rebels against Queen Elizabeth executed there	248
Bishoprick of, refused to pay Land-Tax to Henry the Seventh	232
Petition from the Inhabitants to King Charles I. complaining of the Oppression of the Scotch	271

E

E BORACUM, the Roman Name of York	8
Occurs throughout the Northern Journeys in the Itinerary of Antoninus	11
The Principal of all the Itinera	27
Ebraucus the original Founder of York	2
Edgar, Atheling, and Earl Gospatrick, their March at the Head of the Northumbrians to York against William the Conqueror, and Submission to him	136
His Escape into Scotland	143
Edmund, Bequest of the Kingdom to him by Athelstan, and his Succession to the Government	123
And Anlaff, their Battle at Chester, and the Treaty between them	124
Put the Danish Kings to Flight, and annexed their Dominions to his own—His Death; succeeded by Edred	125
Edred, his Succession to Edmund, and Loss of Northumberland	ib.
Indulgences to the Danes—Attacked by them on his March Southward, and his Return to York, where he subdued them	126
Edward the Confessor, his Aid to Malcolm against Macbeth	129
Edward I. on his Way to Scotland in 1291, staid sometime at York—Summoned a Parliament to meet at York, accounting those of his Barons Rebels that disobeyed—Grants made to him by Parliament—Ninth Penny of their Goods granted to him by the Commons of England	168
Tenth Penny granted to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Clergy, and a Fifth by the Archbishop of York and his Clergy—On Disobedience of the Scotch Nobility issued his Commission of Array—His Return from Scotland to York, and Residence there sometime—His Death and Succession by his Son Edward II.	169
Edward	

Edward II. succeeded his Father Edward I.	162
His Deficiency, when compared to his Father, and the Consequence of it—Spent his Christmas in 1311 at York—His Flight, after the Battle of Bannockburn, to York, where he called a Council—His coming to raise Forces, and Disappointment—Received Piers Gaveston and his Followers at York—Caused York to be strongly fortified	170
Besieged Berwick	171
His Return to York from Berwick—The Misfortunes of his Reign accounted for.	172
A great Army raised by him—His March into Scotland, and Return for Want of Forage—Surprized and routed by Robert King of Scots	173
His Return to York—Kept Christmas there again—His Character and Death	174
Edward III. succeeded his Father Edward II. rendezvoused his Army of 60,000 Men at York, where he staid six Weeks	174
The Number of Foreigners who came with Lord John of Hainault to his Assistance, and the Place of his Residence at York—The plentiful Provision made by him	175
His holding a solemn and magnificent Feast at York on Trinity-Sunday for the Sake of the stranger Lords, and the Quarrel which ensued between the English and Hainaulters	176
His March against the Scots with the Hainaulters	177
—Mandate to put York in a Posture of Defence	178
—overtaking and surrounding the Scotch Army	179
Their Escape and his Return to York	ib.
Kept Christmas 1328 at York, and entertained Lord John of Hainault with great Magnificence	180
His Marriage with Philippa at York	ib.
Summoned a Parliament to be held at York in 1332	181
Kept Christmas at York on his Way to Scotland, and adjusted Matters with King Baliol.	182
His second Son died young, and buried in York Cathedral	183
Edward IV. (late Earl of March) his Proclamation in Consequence of his Guard being dislodged at Ferrybridge, &c.	195
Proclamation before the Battle of Towton, or York Fields	196
Victory there	197
Caused his Father's Head, with others, to be taken from off Micklegate-Bar and buried, and others, to be put up in their Stead	198
Edward	

	Page
Edward IV. his March to York with a mighty Army, and from thence to meet the Enemy at Hexham, where the Victory fell to him, and he was again crowned at York with the Royal Cap, called Abacot, taken in the Equipage of Henry VI. — — — — —	198
An extraordinary Grant by him to the Citizens of York — — — — —	199
The Desertion from him of the Earl of Warwick and his Family — — — — —	200
Taken Prisoner, and his Escape afterwards to Burgundy — — — — —	201
His Return from Burgundy with Forces, and March towards York, where he was received as Duke of York, disclaiming his Title to the Crown — — — — —	202
Re-assumed the regal Title and gained the Throne — — — — —	204
His Progress into the North, Visit to York, and Death—Left his Brother Richard Guardian of the young King and the Realm — — — — —	205
His Queen's Relations imprisoned in Pontefract Castle — — — — —	208
Edward VI. succeeded his Father Henry VIII.—An Insurrection in 1548 begun at Seamer, near Scarborough — — — — —	243
His Death — — — — —	245
Edwards (three) bloody Wars during their Reigns — — — — —	163
Edwin the Great , first King of Deira—His Escapes, Conquests, Titles, and Residence — — — — —	107
His Character by William of Malmesbury—Ensign of Sovereignty carried before him in Times of Peace — — — — —	108
Attempted to be murdered by a Russian at his Summer Retreat near York—Slain in the Battle of Heavenfield—His Head buried at York — — — — —	109
Edwin , Earl, (with Morchar and Gospatrick)—Their Flight from William the Conqueror to Malcolm King of Scotland, who refused to give them up — — — — —	137
With Morchar persuade the King of Denmark to attempt the Conquest of England — — — — —	ib.
Egbert , King of Northumberland, the prophetic Letter of Alcuin to him — — — — —	114
Appointed King of Northumberland by Hinguar and Hubba — — — — —	121
Deposed by Rigsidge, and again restored — — — — —	ib.
Egremond , Sir John, (and John a Chambre) chosen Leaders in an Insurrection against Henry VII. on Account of the Land-Tax—His Flight to Flanders, and his Protection there by the Duchess of Burgundy — — — — —	233
Elidurus advanced to the Crown of Britain; his Meeting with and Stratagem for the Re-establishment of his Brother Artogal, who had been deposed by his Nobles — — — — —	7

	<i>Page</i>
Elidurth succeeded to the Government on the Death of Artogal	8
Elizabeth, (Princess) Heirefs of the House of York, imprisoned by Richard III. in Sheriff-Hutton Castle, from whence she was sent for by Henry VII.	228
Presently married to him; but it was three Years before he would suffer her to be crowned	229
Elizabeth (Queen) her Succession to Mary—Conspiracy to dethrone her and advance Mary Queen of Scots	246
Her Demise—Not certainly known at York of five Days	249
Ella elected King of Bernicia	106
His Civil War with Osbert	116
— Agreement to join Osbert against the Danes	117
— Battle with the Danes, and Death	118
Ely, Bishop of, Chancellor and Regent—Ordered by Richard I. to York, to execute Justice for the Jewish Massacre there	159
Laid the Metropolitan Church of York under an Interdict	161
Eofa and Osta (Sons of Hengist) their Flight from Aurelius and Surrender to him	100
Their Revolt, Defeat, and Captivity	101
They again become Masters of the Northern Parts of Britain, and divide it into Deira and Bernicia	102
Eric chosen King of Northumberland—His Civil War with Anlaff—Flight and Restoration	126
Put to Death by the Northumbrians	127
Ethelred revolted from by the Northumbrians	115
Evil (King's)—James I. touched 70 Persons for it in York Minster	257
King Charles I. touched 200 Persons for it in York Minster	265

F

F AIRFAX, Lord Ferdinando, and his Son Sir Thomas, the Parliament's principal Instruments in carrying on the Civil War against King Charles I. in the North	311
Fairfax, Lord Ferdinando, and his Son Sir Thomas, the only two of considerable Quality in Yorkshire not well disposed to the King	312
Withdrew his Forces from Tadcaster to Cawood and Selby	314
Commanded the main Battalia at Marston-Moor Battle	327
Remained at and appointed Governor of York by the Parliament	336
The first Person of Quality in those Parts who seemed to point at Restoration—Kept a secret Correspondence with Gen. Monk, and visited him frequently	339
Visited at Nun-Appleton by Gen. Monk—His raising Forces not agreeable to Parliament	341
Fairfax,	

	Page
Fairfax, Sir Thomas, at the Head of the Republican Party of Yorkshire in 1642	283
And Capt. Hortham, their Fortification of Tadcaster and Wetherby	313
His Victory at Selby over the King's Forces, and Dispatch to Gen. Lesley to meet him and besiege York	319
Commanded the Right Wing of Horse at the Battle of Marston-Moor	327
His Account of the fortunate Circumstances attending himself in that Battle	331
Dangerously wounded in an Excursion against Helmsley Castle, and appointed Commander in Chief of the Parliament's Forces	336
Colonel, a Regiment, with the Care of the City of York, committed to him by Gen. Monk	342
Falkirk (Battle of) between Edward I. and the Scots	169
Farnley Wood, near Otley, the Place of Rendezvous of the Rebels in 1663	343
Several of them taken there and 21 of them executed	344
Ferrybridge, Lord Fitzwater sent to guard that Pass for Henry VI.	194
Surprized and slain there	195
The Proclamation of Edward IV. in Consequence of his Guard being dislodged there	ib.
Ferryby, John, (Lord Mayor of York) with many of the Citizens, meet and escort Edward IV. to York	205
Fibula, Urns, &c. found in and about York	66
Fire, a dreadful one at York—Twenty Cities and chief Towns casually destroyed by Fire in 1138	148
A considerable Part of York set on Fire by the Plunderers of the Jews	155
Fitzwater, Lord, sent to guard a Pass at Ferrybridge for Henry VI.	194
Surprized and slain there	195
Fleming, Nicholas, Mayor of York, with many Citizens, slain by the Scots at Myton upon Swale	171
The Gratitude shewn to his Memory by the Archbishop	172
Flodden, Battle of, between Henry VIIIth's Army and James IV. of Scotland, whose Body was exposed at York	241
Fortifications and Intrenchments in and about York marked out by King Charles I.	266
Foss-River, its Original as a Navigation—The several Uses and a Description of it	29
Navigable in the Time of Edward III. and the Fishery of it claimed by him	30
The Inconveniences at present attending it	31
Foss-Dike, its Etymology	31, 32
Frost,	

	Page
Frost, an extreme one in 1607, in which many Sports and a Horse-Race on the Ice of the River Ouse	256
Fulford (Battle of) between Earl Morchar and Tostig and his Allies	131

G

G AOL-DELIVERY, a great one at York at the Lent Affizes in 1648-9	337
Garrisons, Norman, destroyed at York	138
And Towns, several reduced by King K. Charles's Forces, lost and won again	314
Garter, Chapter of, held at York in 1640—A Copy of the Entry of it in the Register	275
Another in 1642, and a Copy of the Entry	281
Gaveston Piers and his Followers received by Edward II. at York	170
George, St. kept at York by King Charles I.	281
Geta succeeded his Father Severus in the Government jointly with Caracalla his Brother—Of a different Temper from Caracalla—20,000 of the Soldiery in his Interest put to the Sword by Caracalla	4
His Flight to his Mother for Protection, and murdered in her Arms by Caracalla	
Glemham, Sir Thomas, twice repulsed in Assaults upon Wetherby	313
Several Times near losing his Life in the Mutinies at York	315
The Government of York left solely to him	333
Surrendered it after a Siege of eighteen Weeks	16.
Godfrey and Anlaf, their Rebellion, Flight, and Battle with Arhelstan	122
Godramgate, from whence it derived its Name	121
Gospatrik, Earl, his March with Edgar Atheling at the Head of the Northumbrians to York against William the Conqueror	136
His Flight with Edwin and Morchar to Malcolm King of Scotland, who protected them	137
Gray, Sir Thomas, of Heton, and others, beheaded in 1415	193
Gulthidacus, King of Denmark, taken Prisoner by Belinus	6
Released on Conditions	16.
Guthram, or Gothram, a Danish King or General	17

H

H ADRIAN, the Emperor, brought with him the Legio Sexta Victrix, and stationed them at York, where they are traced for 300 Years and upwards	19
Hainault (Lord John of) his coming with many other Fo- reigners to the Aid of Edward III. at York	175
Rewarded by Edward III. and sent to his own Country—Returned afterwards with his Niece Philippa, whom the King married	179
Hainaulters,	

Hainaulters, their coming into England	Page
A great Feast held on their Account at York,	175
and their Quarrel with the English Soldiery	176
Their March against the Scots, and the Honour	
done them upon it	177
Burnt almost a whole Parish in the Suburbs of	
York, and fought a Battle with the Inhabitants	181
Hales, Abbot of, executed at York for Rebellion against	
Henry IV.	189
Hamilton, Marquis of, his Visit to the Queen of King	
Charles I. at York	316
Harclay (Andrew de) made Earl of Carlisle in 1321—His	
Fate afterwards	173
Harold, his March against Tostu and the King of Norway,	
and Battle with them at Stamfordbridge	131
His Victory there	132
Return to York and Orders for Feasts	133
Subdued and slain by William Duke of Normandy	134
Hatfield, William of, (second Son of Edward III.) buried	
in York Cathedral	183
Hay, in 1614, sold at York for Forty Shillings, and at	
Leeds for Four Pounds a Wain-Load	256
Heavenfield, Battle of, between Edwin and Cadwallo and	
Penda	109
Helena, married to Constantius Chlorus, and her Character	
by different Authors	33
Helen's, St. Square, three Roman Walls found there	61
Hengist, his Stratagem to secure Britain to the Saxons	100
Slain in Battle, and the Flight of his Sons	ib.
Henry III. his Convention at York with, and his Sister's	
Marriage to, the King of Scots	163
Kept Christmas at York with his Brother King of	
Scots—His Meeting and Interview with Alexander	
III. King of Scots at York, and the Marriage	
of Henry's Daughter to Alexander	164
Conferred Knighthood on Alexander and twenty	
other young Noblemen	165
The great Profusion of Victuals, &c. at the Celebra-	
tion of his Daughter's Nuptials	167
Henry IV. his Succession to Ricard II. and the Conspiracy	
formed against him	184
Sent the Earl of Westmoreland with 30,000 Men to	
quell the Malcontents at York	186
The Vengeance which he took on the Citizens for	
aiding Archbishop Scrope	187
Henry V. his Succession to Henry IV.	189
Mandate to the Lord Mayor of York to seize and	
confiscate the Estate of Lord Scrope	190
And his Queen Catherine at York in their Progress	
through the Kingdom	193
Edward VI. his Character as a Prince	ib.
Edward	

	Page
Henry VI. The House of York took Advantage of his Weakness—His Force sent against Earl March	194
His Queen and Sons at York	195
Proclamation of his Generals before the Battle of York Fields	196
His Flight with his Queen to Scotland—His Royal Cap, called Abacot, taken by Edward IV. at the Battle of Hexham	198
Espoused by the Earl of Warwick, who deserted Edward IV.	200
Reinstated in his kingly Dignity	202
Sent to the Tower	204
Henry VII. proclaimed King at York	222
Proclamation by him for Peace and good Order	223
His Warrant to Robert Rawdon to attach the Bodies and seize the Goods of Robert Bishop of Bath, and Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Knight	225
His Letter to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of York, commanding them to assist Sir John Halwell in such Matters as he should shew to them on the King's Behalf	226
Shewed great Acts of Clemency on entering upon the Government—Sent for the Princess Elizabeth, a Prisoner in Sheriff-Hutton Castle, to marry her	228
Presently married to Elizabeth, but seemed to scorn the Title he had with her, and continued his Aversion to the House of York	229
Would not suffer Elizabeth to be crowned according to his Oath for three Years after their Marriage	230
Called the English Solomon—The Partizans of the House of York dissatisfied with him—Several Commotions raised against him—An Insurrection setting on Foot in the North which, he coming to quell, nearly proved fatal to him	232
His Victory at the Battle of Stoke	232
— Answer to the Earl of Northumberland's Letter about the Nonpayment of the Land-Tax	233
— Journey to York to quiet the People, and Appointment of a Lieutenant and Commissioner of the Subsidy on Land—Account of the Reception of his Daughter at York in her Journey to consummate her Marriage with James IV. of Scotland	234
— Death and Succession by	
Henry VIII. his Suppression of the Lesser Monasteries, and Innovations in Religion, the Cause of several Insurrections	241
Sent an Army to quell the Revolters, several of the Ringleaders of whom taken and executed—His Appointment of a Court of President and Council at York—The Extent of its Jurisdiction and Officers	242

	<i>Page</i>
Henry VIII. his Progress to York—The Reception which he met with, and the Presents that he received in Lincolnshire—His Reception and Presents on his entering Yorkshire—The Submission to him of the Archbishop of York and 300 of his Clergy, and the Present made him on Barnsdale—His Reception and Treatment at York; Stay there and Return into the South—His Death and Character — — — —	243
Heptarchy, Saxon, its first Foundation — — — —	106
— A complete Succession of Northumbrian Kings in it — — — —	111
Hercbert, Edward Lord, his Advice to King Charles I. to refuse the Demand of the Scots and fortify York, with his Reasons for so doing — — — —	273
Herring, Thomas, Archbishop of York, Projector of the armed Association against the Rebels in 1745, and his Speech to the Nobility, &c. at York Castle on that Occasion — — — —	350
Hesse, Prince of, his Arrival and Reception at York on his Way from Scotland in 1746 — — — —	353
Heworth-Moor, the People summoned to assemble there by Proclamation from King Charles I. — — — —	299
— The Assembly held there accordingly — — — —	300
Hexham, Battle of, between Edward IV. and Henry VI. — — — —	198
History, Roman, dark towards the latter End of the third Century — — — —	34
Holderness, its Etymology — — — —	107
Holgate, situate at the Foot of Severus's Hills — — — —	21
Holland, Sir John, Half-Brother of Richard II. slew Lord Ralph Stafford near Bishopthorpe — — — —	183
Homage, the Ceremony of that performed by the Kings of Scotland to Henry II. King of England 151, 152 Done by the King of Scots for Lands held in Lothian, and his Answer on the King of England's requesting him to do Homage for Scotland — — — —	166
Hotham, Sir John, repulsed King Charles I. at Hull — — — —	282
— Complained of by the Yorkshire Nobility and Gentry to Parliament — — — —	303
— Captain, the sham Letter wrote by him to the Earl of Newport at Wetherby, as from the Earl of Newcastle — — — —	314
Hoyle, Thomas, Alderman, appointed Lord Mayor (by Lord Fairfax, the Governor of York) vice Sir Edmund Cooper displaced — — — —	337
Hubba appointed by his Brother Hinguar to the Command of Northumberland and Governorship of York — — — —	121
Huddleston, Colonel, slain at the Siege of York in 1644 — — — —	325

	Page
J AMES IV. of Scotland, slain at Flodden, his Army routed, and his Body brought to York and there exposed to public View	241
James VI. of Scotland, (and first of England) his Succession to Queen Elizabeth and to the Crown of England	249
His Reception at York on his first Progress from Edinburgh to London	250
Speech of the Lord Mayor of York on his entering the City	251
Ditto on presenting him with a Cup of Gold	253
His Promise of Favours to the City	254
The Reception of his Queen and two eldest Children at York on their Way from Edinburgh to London, and the Presents bestowed by the City of York	255
His Reception at York in his Progress towards Scotland, the Presents which he received, and the several Places in and about York which he visited	256
His Death	258
James II. granted York its last Charter—The Loyalty of the City towards him	347
Their Address on the Birth of his Son	348
Jeffreys (Lord Chief Justice) his Advice to the Mayor and Aldermen of York, to petition King James II. for a new Charter	346
Jewbury, its Situation and original Use	31
Jews first introduced into England by William the Conqueror—A Tribe placed themselves at York, where they grew rich, and were plundered both by Prince and People	153
Prohibited from appearing at Church or Dinner on the Coronation of Richard I.—Some of the richest of them summoned by their Brethren in London to attend the Coronation—Benedict and Jocenus, two of the richest at York, who went to the Coronation	154
General Massacre of them at London, York, &c.	ib.
Ordered by the King to be protected, which Order was disregarded at York	155
Most of them lodge their Property and Persons in York Castle; those that remained in York suffered Death, or were baptized—Shut the Governor out of the Castle, who complaining to the Sheriff, he raised the Posse Comitatus, and besieged it	156
Offer a large Sum of Money to escape with their Lives, which was rejected—The Advice given them by a Jew Doctor to destroy themselves and their Property	157
The Destruction of their Effects, and general Massacre of themselves, their Wives and Children—Those who remained alive cried for Mercy	158
Let the Besiegers into the Castle, who slew them, whilst crying out for Baptism—Their Bonds and Writings burnt in the Cathedral—The Time of their Massacre, and the Motives of it—The Vengeance of Richard I. for it.	159

	Page
Jews, York supplied with a new Colony of them—Copies of several of their Mortgages, with the Relaxations	161
Used no Seals which made convex Impressions—Two Places in and about York retain the Memory of them	162
Image found in Walmgate, supposed to have been one of the Roman Household Gods	80
Independents, York, the Manner in which they were raised in 1745—The Number of them, Names of the Officers, &c.	353
Insurrection (stiled the Pilgrimage of Grace) in the Time of Henry VIII. on his suppressing the lesser Monasteries	242
Joan, Sister to Henry III. married to Alexander King of Scots	163
John, King, Mediation between him and William King of Scots at York—Surrender to him by the King of Scots of the Counties of Cumberland, Huntingdon, and Northumberland, and the Intent of it	163
John, St. of Beverley, his Tomb said to have sweat Blood on the Day of the Battle of Agincourt	193
His Shrine visited by King Henry V.	ib.
Jocenus, one of the richest Jews at York, who went to the Coronation of Richard I.	154
His Escape to York	155
Lodged his Wealth in York Castle	ib.
His House broke and plundered—Himself, his Wife and Children having withdrawn themselves into York Castle, are there destroyed voluntarily	156
Julia, Empress, Story, as related by Dion Cassius, of her rallying a British Lady with the Licentiousness of her Countrywomen, and the British Lady's Answer	22

K

KING's-BENCH, Judges of, sat and did Business at York in 1319	170
And Chancery-Courts removed to York in 1392	184

L

LAMBERT, General, his Army deserted him—His Regiment given to Col. Bethell	339
Lamp, Story of, a burning one found in the Tomb of Constantius	38
Lancaster, Earl, (Uncle to Edward II.) taken Prisoner at the Battle of Boroughbridge in 1321, beheaded at Pontefract	172
Land-Tax granted in 1489—Refused to be paid in Yorkshire and Durham—An Insurrection on that Account	232
Langley, Edmund, fifth Son of Edward III. made first Duke of York	183
Langwith, Dr. Collection of Roman Coins in his Possession	67
Lawrence, St. (without Walmgate-Bar) two very ancient Statues prostrate upon the Church-Yard Wall	66
Legion,	

	<i>Page</i>
Legion, Roman, of what Number one consisted, and how divided	45
Each had its fixed Station	46
Legion 6th, brought to and stationed at York by Hadrian, where they are traced for 300 Years and upwards	46
Continued at York	27
To the final Desertion of Britain by the Romans	44
Had the Surname of Victrix	47
Legion 9th, Time of its coming to Britain—Foot of it cut in Pieces, and afterward recruited	ib.
The Sepulchral Monument of a Standard-Bearer described	63
The Time of its coming to England, and the several Surnames which it bore	89
Lesley, Alexander (Earl of Leven) and others, with the Scotch Army invade England in 1640, and, possessing themselves of the Counties of Northumberland and Durham, taxed them after 850 l. per Day	265
Joins with Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Earl of Manchester in the Siege of York	319
His Answer to the Earl of Newcastle's Letter at the Siege of York	320
Summons by him and the other Generals of Parliament for the Surrender of York	321
Taken by a Constable after a Flight of ten Miles from Marston-Moor	331
His March from York Northward with his Army	336
Lichfield and Coventry, Bishop of, his Embassy with others, and Choice of Philippa to marry Edward III.	180
Lincoln, Earl of, headed an Insurrection against Henry VII. in 1488	230
Lincolnshire Men, eighty buried at St. Clement's, Fossgate, who were slain in a Quarrel at York with the Hainaulters	177
Lister, Capt. William, slain at Tadcaster Battle in 1642	314
Lister, Martin, M. D. Description by him of an Altar found at York	57
Ditto, of Urns, &c.	81
London, not comparable to York in the Days of its Splendor	146
Soon after the Conquest surpassed all other Cities	147
Lothbroch, the Dane, Father of Hingvar and Hubba—His History	118, 119
Lovel, Lord, pardoned by Henry III. at the Request of Alexander III. King of Scots	166
Countenanced an Insurrection against Henry VII.	230
Lucius, a British King, said to have embraced Christianity, supposed to have succeeded Coilus his Father	11

	Page
M ACE, first presented by Richard I. to the City of York, to be borne before the Lord Mayor	184
Magna Charta confirmed at York, and a heavy Curse pronounced against those who should break it	168
Malcolm, by the Aid of Edward the Confessor, slew Macbeth, and was set on the Throne of Scotland	129
His Protection of three Earls against William the Conqueror	137
Summoned to appear before Henry II. at a Convention at York in 1160, and his Sentence thereat	151
Mallett, William, (Sheriff of Yorkshire) his Family and a few others saved from the general Destruction of the Norman Garrison at York in 1069	138
Manchester, Earl of, his Junction with Sir Thomas Fairfax and Gen. Leslie in the Siege of York	319
His Quarters assaulted by a Party of the York Garrison, which was repulsed	325
— March from York into Lincolnshire with his Army	336
Manor, a Council held there by King Charles on the Scotch Affairs	263
Possessed by the Parliament's Forces, and afterwards retaken by the King's	325
March, Edward, Earl of, waived his Title of Duke of York, got himself proclaimed King, (Edward IV.) and raised an Army against Henry VI.	194
Marcianus, Publius Ælius, Inscription on an Altar dedicated by him, found at York	58
Margaret, Princess, Daughter of Henry VII. Account of her Reception at York on her Journey to consummate her Marriage with James IV. of Scotland	234
The Ceremonial of her Progress and Reception at York, as recorded by an Officer at Arms	236
Markets, all cried down on Account of the Plague in 1604	255
Marriott, Col. John, Governor of Pontefract Castle, executed at York	338
Marston-Moor, the Retreat of the Parliament's Forces thither from the Siege of York	326
The Parliament's Forces overtaken there by Prince Rupert	327
The different Situations and Dispositions upon and near it described	ib.
Battle	328
The Number supposed to be slain on both Sides	330
Cromwell the main Instrument of gaining the Victory there—The several People of Distinction slain and taken on both Sides, and the Stores, &c. taken by the Parliamentarians	337
Mary, Queen, her Succession to Edward VI.	245
Death	246

	<i>Page</i>
Mary, St. (Tower of) at the North-East Corner of the Manor, blown up by the Earl of Manchester's Forces	325
Maundy kept by King Charles I. in 1639 in the Cathedral of York, and the Ceremony of it	264
Kept at York by King Charles I. in 1642	281
Melton, William, Archbishop of York, and his Army, defeated by the Scots at Myton	171
Merchants, their Place of Residence at York in the Time of the Romans	30
Merchants' Hall at York, its Situation; the Name of the old Hans Company, whence derived	<i>ib.</i>
Meredith (Price ap) the famous Welchman, tried for High Treason in 1291, and executed at York	168
Micklegate-Bar, a noble Roman Arch yet standing there	65
The Heads of Richard Duke of York and others placed upon it in the Reign of Henry VI.	194
The Heads before placed upon it taken down and others put up in their Stead by K. Ed. IV.	198
The Head of Thomas Piercy Earl of Northumberland placed upon it	249
Two of the Heads of the Rebels executed at York in 1746 placed upon it, and afterwards stolen away	356
Mint-Yard, Description of a Roman multangular Tower and Wall there	59
Mithras, the Sculpture of a Sacrifice to him represented and described	87
Monafteries, lesser, suppressed by Henry VIII.	241
Greater ditto	242
Monk-Bar, a Party of the York Garrison sallied out and furiously assaulted the Earl of Manchester's Quarters, but were repulsed	325
Monk, (General) his Arrival at York, and modelling his Army there	339
Story of the Conference between him and Bowles	340
Not the only one that was solicited to declare for Charles II. at York—A moot Point whether he had not declared Charles II. King of England at York—His Receipt of Orders to march to London	341
His Diffimulation with the Parliament—Caned one of his Officers for giving his Opinion about the Restoration—Visited Lord Fairfax at Nun-Appleton	<i>ib.</i>
Marched his Army from Coldstream to York of his own Authority—received Orders from the Parliament to keep on his Way to London	<i>ib.</i>
Reduced his Army to remove Apprehension from the Parliament—Sent Major Morgan, with two Regiments of Horse and Foot, back to Scotland—His March from York to Mansfield in Nottinghamshire	342
All his Motions successful—The happy Instrument of the Restoration—Committed a Regiment, with the Care of the City, to Col. Fairfax	<i>ib.</i>

	<i>Page</i>
Montrose, Marquis of, his writing to King Charles I. during the Treaty of Ripon, offering to support him with his Life and Fortune	274
His Answer on being charged with holding Correspondence with the Enemy	275
Deserted the Covenanters' Cause, and presented himself to the Queen at York with Lord Ogilvy and 120 Horse—The Information he gave to the Queen, which (through the Art of the Marquis of Hamilton) she disbelieved	316
Morchar, Successor to Tostig in the Earldom of Northumberland, defeated Tostig on the Lincolnshire Coast	130
Defeated by Tostig and the King of Norway	131
Governor of York after the Conquest, and with his Brother and the King of Wales raised Forces against William the Conqueror	135
His Flight with Edwin and Gospatrick to Malcolm King of Scotland, who refused to give them up to the Conqueror	137
And Edwin, their Flight and Murder	142
Moreton, (Earl of) Viceroy of Scotland—His betraying and delivering up the Earl of Northumberland	248
Mount, without Micklegate-Bar, its probable original Use	66
Murray, (Earl of) his March into England in 1319 as far as York—The Destruction which he caused, and his Return	171
The Archbishop of York and his Army defeated by him at Myton	<i>ib.</i>
Myton upon Swale, the Defeat of the Archbishop of York and his Army there by the Scots in 1319	171, 172

N

NAVIGATION, Inland, of the Romans described	28
Nevill's Cross, Battle of, between Queen Philippa and the Scots in 1347	183
Nevill and Percy, Lords, appointed Governors of the North	<i>ib.</i>
Lord George, Sir Humphrey, and others beheaded at York 1464	198
Sir John and ten others executed at York for a Rebellion in 1541	243
Newcastle, Earl of, came to the Aid of the loyal Yorkshire Gentry—His Acceptance of the Earl of Cumberland's Commission, and March to attack the Enemy's Intrenchments at Tadcaster	313
Pamphlet published by him in Answer to the Aspersions cast upon him by the Lord Fairfax	315
His conducting of the Queen to the King, and created a Marquis	318
— Letter from York to the Earl of Leven whilst the Forces of Parliament were besieging it, and the Earl of Leven's Answer	320
Newcastle,	

	<i>Page</i>
Newcastle, Earl of, the Treaty proposed by him about the Rendition of York, and the Letter sent by him to the Parliament: Generals refusing their Terms	321
His Answer to the Summons of the three Generals of the Parliament to surrender York — —	322
His Answer to the Propositions for the Surrender of York sent to him by the Earl of Leven —	324
— Opinion at a Council of War called by Prince Rupert, and Reply to the Prince's Declaration of his Resolution to fight — —	326
— Answer to his Friends, who advised him not to fight on Account of the Command being taken from him — —	327
— and Company's Departure from York, and Em- barkation at Scarborough for Hamburgh —	332
Arrival at Hamburgh—His Return to England after the Restoration — —	333
Newport (Earl of) takes Wetherby for King Charles I. —	313
The sham Letter sent to him by Capt. Hotham, as from the Earl of Newcastle — —	314
Nigel and Sithrick, their joint Reign North of Tyne in 877	122
Normans, Number of them, who were slain on taking the Garrisons at York — —	139
Northallerton, Bellum Standardi fought near it — —	149
Northborough, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, sent on Embassy with others, and his Choice of Philippa for the Wife of Edward III. —	180
Northumberland, all North of Humber subdued by the Picts and Scots about the Year 450 — —	99
Kingdom of, the Extent and Division of it	106
Kings of, in the Heptarchy—A complete Suc- cession of them — —	111
Conquered by Athelstan — —	122
— by Anlaff — —	123
Lost by Edred, and Anlaff restored and again expelled — —	125
Eric chosen King of it, his Flight from it, and Restoration — —	126
Turned into a Province, and the Appoint- ment of the first Earl — —	127
Earls of, Succession of them — —	128
Earldom of, the different Counties into which it was divided — —	134
— Held by Morchar after the Conquest <i>ib.</i>	
— Committed to Robert, a Norman	135
Earl of, his Confederacy with others against Henry IV. — —	185
— Slain in Bramham-Moor Battle, and his Head carried in mock Procession and placed on London Bridge —	189
— Letter to him by the Mayor and Citi- zens of York, on Richard the Third's being slain — —	220
Northumberland,	

	<i>Page</i>
Northumberland, Earl of, Copy of a Letter to him from the Mayor, Aldermen, &c. praying his Interest with Henry VII. on their Behalf	224
———His Rescue of Henry VII. whilst solemnizing St. George's Day at York	230
———Applied to by the Commissioners of Land-Tax for his Advice and Aid on Nonpayment of it	232
The Earl's House assailed and himself slain	233
Thomas Piercy, Earl of, his Conspiracy with others against Queen Elizabeth	246
His March and Proceedings	<i>ib.</i>
Earl of, and the Conspirators took 200 Footmen at Tadcaster, and mustered on Clifford-Moor	247
———Betrayed by the Earl of Moreton, taken and beheaded at York	248
———His Head placed on Micklegate-Bar and Body buried in Crux Church	249
Inhabitants of, their Petition to King Charles I. complaining of the Oppression of the Scots	271
Northumbrians, Their Revolt from Ethelred, and Choice of Osbert to succeed him	115
Their Revolt from Anlaf	124
Put Eric to Death	127
Destroyed Robert, the Norman, and his Forces at Durham—March under Edgar, Atheling, and Earl Gospatrick to York against William the Conqueror, but submit to him	136
Norton, Richard, Standard-Bearer to the Conspirators against Queen Elizabeth—The Device upon their Banner described	247
Norway, Harold Harfager, King of, assisted Tost, and landed at Riccall	130
———And Tost defeated Morchar at Fulford	131
———Defeated by King Harold, and slain	132
Notitia of the Roman Empire, Account given of it by different Authors	48
Copy of it	49
Nottingham, Royal Standard of K. Charles I. erected there	311

	Page
O ATH of the Peers of Scotland to the King of England in 1171	153
Oëta and Eofa, (Sons of Hengist) their Flight and Surrender	100
Their Revolt, Defeat, and Captivity	101
Flight home, Return, and becoming Masters, and making Division of the Northern Part of Britain into Bernicia and Deira	102
Octavius, a British King, his Rebellion, Defeat, Flight, &c.	43
Officia Palatina at York	17
Osbern, the Danish General, his March towards York	138
His secret Compact with William, and sudden Departure with his Forces	140
Osbert chosen King of Northumbria—His Rape on the Lady of Bruern Bocard	115
The Revolt of the Bernicians from him, and his Civil War with Ella	116
His Application to Ella for Aid, who agreed to join him against the Danes—Attacked the Danes at York, but was defeated and slain	117
Ofrick Successor to Edwin in the Kingdom of Deira	109
His Army routed, and himself killed by Cadwallo	110
Ofulph first Earl of Northumberland	127
Oswald defeated Cadwallo—Became sole Monarch of the Northumbers—His Character from Bede—His Seat of Residence at York	110
Slain by Penda, and torn to Pieces by wild Horses	111
Ouse River navigable for any Ship used by the Romans	30
Many Sports practised upon the Ice of it in 1607—Inundation of it in 1614	256

P

P ALACE of the Roman Emperors at York—Extent and Situation	17
Re-edified, or first built for the Reception of Severus	16
Papinian joined in Commission with Geta to administer Justice at York	12
His Character as a Lawyer; his Offices under Severus and Age—Slain by Order of Caracalla	25
Parliament, the first mentioned in History by that Name, held at York—Malcolm King of Scots summoned to appear at it—Of whom it consisted, and the Occasion of its being called	151
Summoned to meet at York by Edward I. and several of the Noblemen who attended enumerated	168
Another held at York, and the Proceedings therein	173
Summoned at York by Edward III. but the End of it frustrated	181
Twelve held at York in the Reigns of Ed. II. III.	182
Its Attempts to weaken the Council of King Charles I. and voting down the Council-Court at York	276
Parliament,	

	<i>Page</i>
Parliament, Resolutions by it in Answer to King Charles's Message, and the Declaration sent by the Com- missioners to the King, with Directions for them to remain at York as Spies over his Actions	285
The Occasion laid hold of by it to declare that King Charles was raising Forces against it, and the Title of one of the Pamphlets published by its Authority	290
Letter which its Committee at York sent to the Speaker of the House of Commons	291
Made an Order to secure its Members from Im- prisonment, and, by a Vote of the House, ob- structed the Removal of the Term to York	294
Petitioned the King, and the Resolutions sent with the Petition	295
The King's Answer to the Petition and Resolution	296
Ordered all Arms and Ammunition carrying to- wards York to be stopped, and the Persons carrying them to be apprehended	299
Petitioned by the Nobility and Gentry of York- shire on the Outrages and Depredations com- mitted by Sir John Hotham	303
Passed Votes for raising an Army, naming Gene- rals, &c.	305
Appointed Lord Fairfax Governor of York, and Sir Thomas Fairfax Commander in Chief of their Forces	336
Ordered Gen. Monk to march to London—Not agreeable to Lord Fairfax's raising Forces	341
Paulus and Ulpianus supposed to have succeeded Papinian	26
Peers of Scotland, their Oath to the King of England	153
Of England summoned by King Charles I. to meet at York	268
The Construction which his Enemies put upon their being summoned, and the Form of the Writ	269
King Charles's Speech to them when assembled at York	271
The Continuance of their Sitting	275
List of them who left their Seats and came to pay their Duty to the King at York	294
The Engagement which forty of them entered into with King Charles I.	301
Their Declaration in Consequence of the Request contained in the King's Protestation against ma- king War upon his Parliament	302
Penda, Oswald slain by him	111
Percy and Nevill, Lords, appointed Governors of the North	183
Henry, Earl of Northumberland, his Confederacy with others against Henry IV.	185
Pertinax near losing his Life in a Mutiny of the 9th Legion of the Roman Army for the Severity of his Dis- cipline	11

	<i>Page</i>
Philippa (Daughter of William Earl of Hainault) chosen by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry for the Wife of Edw. III. and married to him at York	180
In York at the Time of Bruce's Invasion	182
Marched in Person against the Scots, and defeated them at Nevill's Cross—Returned to York after the Battle, where the King of Scots was brought Prisoner to her—Fortified York—Her Journey to London with her Royal Prisoner	183
Picts and Scots conquered Britain	93
Time of their subduing the Country North of the Humber, and their Defeat by the Saxons	99
Pillars, Military, or Mile-Stones, several found in the North of England, and on the Roman Roads leading to York	28
Place, Thomas, Esq; Recorder of York, his Speech to the Duke of Cumberland on presenting him his Freedom	354
Plague, of which 1100 Persons died at York in 1390	184
11,000 ditto in 1391	ib.
3512 ditto in 1604	255
Sweating Sickness in 1551	244
Plantaganet, Edward, Earl of Warwick conveyed from Sheriff-Hutton Castle to the Tower, and there beheaded	228
Line failed after being in Possession of the Crown 330 Years	229
Pontefract Castle, the Governor of it executed at York	338
Portuguese Ambassador at York	294
Præfectures, the Division of Constantine's Dominions into four, and those subdivided	43
Prætorium, or Judgment Hall of the Romans at York	17
President and Council Court instituted at York by Hen. VIII. its Powers and Officers	242
Adjourned to Ripon and Durham on Account of the Plague	255
Voted down by Parliament	276
Printing Presses set up at York by Order of King Charles I.	281
Prisoners of War at York in the Civil War of Charles I. bad Effects of their close Confinement and Want of Victuals	315
A remarkable Instance of the Queen's (of King Charles I.) Generosity to them at York	318
Provisions, fresh, the high Price of them at York during the Siege of it by the Parliament's Forces	326

QUO WARRANTO issued against the City for the Slight put upon the Duke of York — 345

	Page
R AINES, Thomas, Lord Mayor of York, dispatched to London with an Address to James II. on the Birth of a young Prince	348
Ratcliffe, Sir Richard, Knight, Warrant from Henry VII. to attach his Body and seize his Goods	225
Rebels, twenty-two executed at York in 1746—Two of their Heads fixed on Micklegate-Bar and afterwards stolen from thence	356
Reginald, his Reign at York, and the Extent of his Territory in 877	122
Civil War and Treaty with Anlaff	124
Rigfidge, King of Northumberland, murdered at York	121
Richard I. a zealous Christian and a bitter Enemy to their Opponents	153
Commanded that no Jews should appear at Church or Dinner on his Coronation	154
His Vengeance for the Jewish Massacre	159
Richard II. came to York to settle Differences between the Archbishop, Dean and Chapter, and Mayor and Commonalty	184
Gave his Sword to be borne before William de Selby, as first Lord Mayor of York, and presented the first Mace to the City for the same purpose—The Gratitude of the Citizens of York to him for his Benefactions—Deposed and murdered	185
Richard III. Guardian and Protector of the young Prince and the Realm	205
A remarkable Letter sent by him whilst Duke of Gloucester to the City of York	207
His Scheme for succeeding to the Kingdom	206
Letter from him praying Forces of the City of York	208
His Proclamation for raising Forces against the Queen and her Adherents—The Number which went from the North to assist at his Coronation in London	209
— Progress into the North to be crowned at York, and Letter sent by his Secretary to the Citizens of York	210
— Reception at York	211
— Order to the Keeper of his Wardrobe—Crowned in the Chapter-House of York Cathedral	212
The Procession on his Coronation, and the Honours which he conferred	213
His Munificence to the City	214
Letter from him to the Mayor and Citizens of York, and their Orders in Council about assisting him with Forces, &c.	216
Not esteemed as a Monster of Mankind in the Northern Parts	227
Ripon and its Monastery burnt by Edred	126
Treaty there between King Charles I. and the Scots Roads,	272

Roads, Roman, the Employment of the Soldiery in peaceable Times—Supposed to be made in the peaceable Age after Severus—Vestiges of several in the Neighbourhood of York, all tending to York from different Sea-Ports and Stations—Discovery of several of them by Mr. Drake	27
Robert, a Norman, made Earl of Northumberland by William the Conqueror	135
He and his Forces destroyed by the Northumbrians at Durham	136
Robert, King of Scots, sent two great Armies into England against Edward III.	174
Roman Antiquity, Account of the Remains of its Monuments—Reason why more of them are not now to be seen—Camden the first who took Notice of them in York—Destroyed by the Anglo-Saxons and Normans	54
Coins, Signets, and other Curiosities in the Possession of different Persons, from	66 to 97
Curiosities, those in the Possession of Mr. Thoresby	82
Empire—Notitia, or general Account of it as given by different Authors	48
History, dark towards the latter End of the third Century	34
Law made at York in 211; a Copy of it from the Code, with Explanations	13, 14
Romans, the Declension of their Power in Britain dated from the Removal of the Seat of Empire from Rome to Byzantium	44
How they stationed their Forces previous to quitting Britain	53
Their Departure from Britain	98
Rupert, Prince, elected Knight Companion of the Garter at York in 1642	281
His Arrival at York in 1644 to assist King Charles the First's Forces	326
Marched from York with the whole Army, and overtook the Rebels on Marston-Moor—The different Dispositions and Situations of his and the Rebel Army upon and near Marston-Moor described	327
His Defeat, and March, with the Force which he had left, into Lancashire	332
Russian Ambassador at York	246

S

SARCOPHAGI, Roman, several found without Bootham-Bar, probably the Roman Burial Place there	80
Saxon Heptarchy, its first Foundation	106
Saxons called in by the Britons and defeated the Picts and Scots	99
L 1 2	Saxons,

	Page
Saxons, the Means which Hengist used to secure Britain to them—Their Defeat by the Britons in four several Battles	100
Their Conquest over all after Arthur's Death	106
According to Scotch History, were totally conquered by Swain King of Denmark	127
Scotland, Arthur's Expedition to destroy it	104
Conquest of it by the English	169
Scots and Picts conquered Britain	98
Time of their subduing the Country North of the Humber, and their Defeat by the Saxons	99
Invade England	171, 174
Substance of their Petition to King Charles I. for Redress of Grievances, with his Answer to it	267
Their Treaty with King Charles I. by Commissioners, at Ripon	273
Two Hundred Thousand Pounds paid to them at the Common Hall in York for their Services	337
Scroop, Richard, Archbishop of York, his Confederacy with others against Henry IV.	185
The Treaty which the Earl of Westmoreland feigned with him	186
Arrested by the Earl of Westmoreland and put to Death	187
Scrope, Lord of Masham, the King's Mandate to the Mayor of York to seize and confiscate his Estate and Effects, and to place his Head upon Micklegate-Bar	190
Seal, Great, brought by the Lord-Keeper, Sir Edward Littleton, to the King at York	294
Seals, none used by the Jews with convex Impressions	162
Seamer, near Scarbrough, an Insurrection begun there in the Reign of Edward VI.	243
The Names of the principal Raisers of the Sedition there—The Cause of it—Their Proceedings and Execution	244
Selby, William de, first Lord Mayor of York	184
Sepulchral Hills, common amongst the Romans and other Nations—Numbers of them in this Island, especially upon the Wolds	21
Monument of a Standard-Bearer of the 9th Legion at York	63
Severus, his Expedition into Britain with his two Sons and a numerous Army—His March from York with his Son Caracalla against the Caledonians—Subdued the Caledonians, took Hostages of them, and made a strong Wall about 80 Miles long to keep them in Subjection	12
Returned to York and took the Title Britannicus Maximus, lived in the Prætorian Palace at York near three Years	13
His Death at York	17
	Severus,

	<i>Page</i>
Severus, his last Advice to his Sons	18
His Reflections on his past Time and last Words	19
His Funeral Obsequies solemnized near York	<i>ib.</i>
The Ceremony described	<i>ib.</i>
His Ashes carried to Rome, where the Ceremony of Deification was conferred upon him	20
Three Hills near York raised in Memory of him by his Soldiers	<i>ib.</i>
Description of his Person, and Character	23
Sheriffs of York first appointed	184
Signets, &c. (Roman) found in and about York	66
Description of, and Observations on, several of them	78
Sithrick and Nigel, their joint Reign in 877	122
Siward, Earl of Northumberland, his Character	128
last Request and Death	129
Smyth, Francis, Esq; F. A. S. Pieces of Roman Antiquity in his Possession	90
Smithson, Major Lilburn's Regiment given to him	339
Snow, a very deep one, and long Frost, in 1614	256
Spencer, Lord Hugh and his Son, restored to their Lands and Offices in the Parliament at York in 1322	173
Stafford, Lord Ralph, slain by Sir John Holland in 1385	183
Staffords (two Lords) countenanced an Insurrection against Henry VII.	230
Stamford-Bridge, Battle of, between Harold and Tostig assisted by the King of Norway	131
Stok., Battle of, between Henry VII. and Symnel and his Adherents	232
Strafford, Thomas, Earl of, elected a Companion of the Garter at York	275
Defeated some of the Scotch Regiments	276
The last President and Judge of the Court at York	<i>ib.</i>
Surry, Earl of, General of the English Army	169
Thomas, Earl of, sent against the Rebels by Henry VII. on the Imposition of the Land-Tax, and defeated them	233
Appointed Lieutenant in the Northern Parts	234
Commanded the English Army against James IV. of Scotland	241
Suffex, Earl of, drew Forces together at York to quash the Rebellion against Queen Elizabeth	247
Swain, King of Denmark, his Conquest of the Saxons near York in 1010	127
Sent Forces to England to join the English and Scotch against William the Conqueror	137
Sweating Sickness in 1551 severely felt at York; an Ac- count of it and its fatal Effects	244
Symnel, Lambert, landed from Ireland, and was proclaimed King Edward VI. against Henry VII.	230
Letter from him to the Corporation of York, and the Resolutions of the Magistracy upon it	231

Symnel, Lambert, came to York with his Adherents after the King had left it	Page 232
Taken Prisoner at the Battle of Stoke, was made Turnspit, and afterwards one of the King's Falconers	232

T

T ADCASTER and Wetherby fortified by Sir Thomas Fairfax and Capt. Hotham	313
Thoresby, (Mr.) Roman Curiosities in his Possession	82
Thorp, Judge, Substance of his Charge to the Grand Jury at the Lent-Affizes, 1648-9	337
Thurston, Archbishop, summoned the Nobility and Gentry to join and march against David King of Scots	148
Thwaites (Col.) Deputy-Governor of York	318
Tosty or Tofto, (Successor to Siward) his Cruelty and Flight Attempted to invade his Brother Harold, but defeated, afterwards assisted by Harold Harfager King of Norway, and landed at Riccall	130
Defeated by Morcar at Fulford—Slain by Harold at the Battle of Stamford-Bridge	131
Buried at York	132
Tower, multangular, a Roman one, and Part of a Wall in the Mint-Yard described	59
Towton Battle, a full Account of it	196
Trained-Bands of York and the Ainsty, their Uniform and Exercise on King Charles Ist's coming to York, and the Honour and Presents which they received from him	263
Yorkshire proposed to be paid by K. Charles I. for two Months, and the Accession of the Yorkshire Gentry to it	270
Trenobantes, Cassibelaun, King of, made Peace with the Romans, died and was buried at York	9
Tunstall, Richard, principal Commissioner to levy the Subsidy on Land in the Northern Parts for Hen. VII.	234

U V

V IRIUS, Lupus, (Proprætor in Britain) his Request to the Emperor Severus to send Force and come personally to Britain	12
Ulpus, sent by Commodus, repelled the Caledonians, and restored Discipline in the Roman Army at York	11
Ulpianus and Paulus supposed to have succeeded Papinian	26
University petitioned for at York	337
Urtimer, a British General, defeated the Saxons in four several Battles	100
Urns, Sarcophagi, &c. found in and about York	66
The different Sorts of them described by different Persons	81
Uther, or Uter, succeeded his Brother Aurelius Ambrosius in the Kingdom of Britain—Defeated Osta and Eosa at York	101

	Page
W ALLS , Roman, Remains of, at York —	59, 61
Of York fortified by Edward II. —	170
— Repaired after the Siege in 1645 —	337
Waltheof made Governor of York, and defied William the	
Conqueror on being summoned to surrender —	139
His valiant Behaviour on William's besieging York —	140
Married William's Niece—Promoted, and after-	
wards beheaded by him, being the first Noble-	
man who was beheaded in England —	142
Warwick , Earl of, his Vow of not flying from the Enemy —	95
— The Desertion of himself and Family	
from Edward IV. and espousing Henry VI. with	
the Cause of it —	200
— The Death of him and his Brother Mar-	
quis Montacute —	204
Edward Plantaganet, Earl of, conveyed from She-	
riff-Hutton Castle to the Tower, and there be-	
headed —	228
Westmoreland , (Ralph Nevill, Earl of) sent by Henry IV.	
with 30,000 Men to quell the Malcontents	
in the North, and the Treaty which he	
feigned to make with Archbishop Scroop —	136
Arrested Archbishop Scroop, who was, with	
the Earl Marshall and others, put to Death —	187
(Charles Nevill, Earl of) joined the Earl of	
Northumberland's Rebellion against Queen	
Elizabeth —	246
His Escape into Flanders —	248
Wetherby and Tadcaster fortified by Sir Thomas Fairfax and	
Capt. Hotham, attacked by the Earl of Newport —	313
White , William, of York, M. D. F. A. S. Description of a	
curious Roman Sepulchre in his Possession —	88
Catalogue of Coins in his Possession —	90
Widdrington , Thomas, Esq; Recorder of York, his Speech	
to King Charles I. on his entering the City —	261
William , Duke of Normandy, his Landing and Victory over	
Harold —	134
The Conqueror, his March into the North against	
the Revoltors —	135
— Sent for the English Noblemen who	
fled to Malcolm King of Scots for Protection—	137
The League which was formed against him —	ib.
— Sent his Wife and Children into	
Normandy for Security —	138
— His Garrison at York destroyed —	ib.
— Marched against the Confederate	
Army at York, and summoned Waltheof to	
surrender the City —	139
— Bribed the Danish General to with-	
draw—Attacked York, and was repulsed —	140
— Granted to his Nephew Alain all	
the Lands of Edwin Earl of Chester —	141
	William

	<i>Page</i>
William the Conqueror drew down the whole Strength of the Kingdom against York, surrounded it, and forced it by Famine to surrender	141
Beheaded Waltheof, being the first Nobleman who was beheaded in England	142
Razed the City to the Ground, and laid all Waste between York and Durham	143
Descriptions of the many Devastations which he was guilty of in and about the City of York	143 to 148
William, (Prince of Orange) the Address of the Lord Mayor and Commonalty of York to him on his Success against James II.	349
William, (Successor to Malcolm) King of Scots, summoned to the English Parliament at York, and did Homage for his Kingdom—The Ceremony of it	152
Writ for summoning Peers at York by King Charles I.—The Form of it	269 ib.

Y

Y ORK, its different Names and Etymologies	1 to 8.
According to Alcuin, derives its Original from the Romans—Some Reason to believe that Agricola was Founder of it—About the Year 150 was one of the greatest Stations in the Province	10
York, the Time about which it shone in full Lustre, and the several Titles which it claimed	14
Principal of the Roman Itinera	27
The Capital of Maxima, or Flavia Caesariensis, in Britain in the Time of Constantine	43
Attempted to be taken by King Arthur, and afterwards delivered up to him	103
The Capital of Deira	107
Danes became Masters of it	117
The Saxons defeated there by the Danes	119
And Northumberland conquered by Athelstan	122
The several Revolutions which it underwent before the Conquest summed up	134
Great Part of it, with the Cathedral and the Library provided by Archbishop Egbert, burnt—Norman Garrison destroyed there	138
Waltheof made Governor of it, who held out against William the Conqueror	139
Surrounded and starved into a Surrender	141
Razed to the Ground, and all the Country between it and Durham laid Waste by the Conqueror	143
London not comparable to it in the Days of its Splendor	146
Laid dead for near an Age after William's cruel Usage—Destroyed by a casual Fire in 1137	148
Continued in a State of Peace for some Ages after Stephen	149
York,	

York, the Miseries and Happiness of different Ages in Re-	
lation to it as sung by two Scotch Poets	150
A considerable Part of it burnt in 1189	155
Besieged by the Northern Barons in the last Year of	
King John	163
Its Walls fortified in 1311	170
Mandate from Edward III. for putting it in a Po-	
sture of Defence	178
Made a County of itself	184
Disfranchised by Henry IV.	188
Its Privileges restored	189
Ordered to be put in a Posture of Defence in 1642	312
Besieged by the Parliament's Forces	319
The Siege raised on the News of Prince Rupert's	
approaching	326
Besieged again by the Parliamentarians, and surren-	
dered	333
Conditions of its Surrender	334
A Quo Warranto issued against it in 1684	345
Its Charter detained by the Ministry of Charles II.	346
renewed by James II.	347
York-Blues raised and paid by Subscription, their Number	
and Pay	352
List of the Officers who served without Pay	353
York-Castle, the Place where it now stands, probably used	
as a Repository for Corn by the Romans	31
Razed to the Ground	123
York, Duke of, the first who bore that Title was the fifth	
Son of Edward III.	183
Richard, Duke of, with others beheaded, and their	
Heads placed on Micklegate-Bar	194
James, Duke of, his coming to York (1642) made	
Knight Companion of the Garter	281
Inscription on the Plate for him on	
the second Stall of the Chapel at Windsor	282
and his Dukes, the Occasion of	
their visiting York—Their Arrival, Reception,	
Entertainment, and Stay there—Visited York	
again on their Way to Edinburgh—The Occasion	
of their leaving Court—Not received by the Cor-	
poration in their Formalities—The Speech of the	
Deputy-Recorder in the Duke's Presence Chamber	344
not being received in the usual	
Manner resented at Court	345
Edward, Duke of, passed thro' York on his Way to	
Scarborough in 1761, where he was waited upon	
by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and two senior	
Aldermen, with the Compliments of the Corpo-	
ration	356
his Arrival, Reception, and Enter-	
tainment at York on his Return—Presented with	
the Freedom of the City in a Gold Box—Reviewed	
Col. Thornton's Reg. of Militia on Knavesmire	357
York,	

400 I N D E X.

	Page
York, Edward, Duke of, visited York again in 1766, and returned by it from Scarbrough—His Presence at the Races, caused a more brilliant Meeting than was ever known	358
York-Fields; Battle of, a full Account of it	196
Yule-Tide, from whence derived	105

Z

Z OUCH, William de la, Archbishop of York, his gallant Behaviour against the Scots	183
---	-----



